

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. III.—No. XXXV.—NEW SERIES.

NOVEMBER 1, 1848.

PRICE 5d.

## THE SLAVE-TRADE AND ITS REMEDY.

The following memorial was presented to Lord Palmerston, on Thursday afternoon last, by a deputation from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, composed of the following gentlemen: Samuel Fox, Robert Alsop, Joseph Cooper, Samuel Sturge, Lewis F. Bellot, and John Scoble. The deputation was received by his lordship with his usual urbanity. The subject-matter of the memorial was discussed at some length, and we have now earnestly to call upon our friends, in every part of the kingdom and the West Indies, to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee, by addressing similar memorials to Government, and embodying them in petitions to Parliament.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD PALMERSTON, &c.

MY LORD,—Deeply impressed with the melancholy facts, authenticated by the clearest evidence, which were laid before the House of Commons, at the close of its last session, in relation to the present extent and increasing activity and success of the slave-trade, and the utter inefficiency of the cruising system to suppress it, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society feel it to be an imperative duty earnestly to appeal to your lordship, to adopt other and wiser methods for terminating, if it be possible, an evil so afflicting to humanity, and so disgraceful to the boasted civilization and religion of the age.

The history of the slave-trade has ever been one of unmitigated outrage and wrong—the darkest condensation of cruelty and crime; but at no former period was it carried on with such ruthless barbarism and atrocity as at present, its horrors having been multiplied by the very means taken to suppress it. The facts of the case, as set forth in the Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the slave-trade, are as follow:—

“That the slave-trade at the present time is equal in extent to what it was during the seven years which preceded its legal abolition by this country, the export of slaves from Africa then averaging 85,000 per annum, the number being now, (1847), 84,356; that during the present year, (1848), the slave-trade has been in a state of unusual vigour and activity, notwithstanding that, from the year 1845 down to the present period, the strength and efficiency of the British Preventive Squadron, supported by the Squadrons of France and the United States, have been raised to a point never before attained; that the total number of negroes liberated by British cruisers, in the years 1846 and 1847, scarcely exceed four per cent. of the slaves carried off from Africa during these years, though the expenditure connected with their employment is not less than £650,000 per annum; that the sufferings and mortality of slaves in the barracoons and in the middle passage are appalling to humanity, and the intensity of those sufferings and the amount of that mortality are unexampled in the history of the slave-trade—the deaths connected with the transport of slaves from Africa to Cuba and Brazil having increased, since the year 1805, from fourteen to twenty-five per cent.; that the traffic with Brazil has been attended with very large profits, and that it is now conducted with an amount of organization, and with a degree of confidence in its success, such as have never before been opposed to the efforts of the nations engaged in its suppression; that the extent and activity of the slave-trade, though in some degree affected by foreign interference, and at times restrained by the Governments of Spain and Brazil, have been mainly governed by the demand for the products of slave-labour in the markets of

Europe; and that the admission of slave-grown sugar to consumption in this country has tended, by greatly increasing the demand for that description of produce, so to stimulate the African slave-trade, as to render an effectual check more difficult of attainment than at any former period.”

Such is the substance of the Report presented to Parliament on the slave-trade, and such, in fact, has been the view taken of this painful subject by the Anti-Slavery Committee, and submitted to Government, in various memorials. In the survey which they took of the evidence contained in official papers and correspondence, in 1846, they said:—“It is incontrovertible that the coercive principle, as applied to the suppression of the slave-trade, has failed; that it costs this country an immense amount of treasure; that it wastes the lives and health of British seamen; that it aggravates the horrors, without sensibly mitigating the extent, of the traffic; and that some other means must be found, if ever this scourge of the human race be removed.” And they added:—“No hope can reasonably be indulged that the Spanish and Brazilian Governments will fulfil their engagements for the suppression of the slave-trade. Their bad faith stands conspicuous before the world. It is in vain, therefore, to expect their cordial and zealous co-operation in this great work. So long as slavery exists in any part of their dominions, the African slave-trade will be viewed as a necessity; and, though not openly justified, will be secretly fostered and encouraged.”

On the abolition of the slave-trade by Great Britain, Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Clarkson, and other eminent philanthropists, considered their great work accomplished, and that, henceforth, they might devote themselves to the noble duty of healing the wounds of Africa, and of pouring the lights of civilization and religion among her people. For this purpose the African Institution was formed, under the patronage of royalty, and sustained by the most distinguished men in these kingdoms; but they soon found they had to encounter a formidable enemy in the foreign African slave-trade, and to conquer that their chief efforts must be directed. They laboured with zeal and perseverance; the Government seconded their exertions; treaties were formed for its suppression; it was pronounced by the representatives of the great powers of Europe to be a crime which desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted mankind, but in vain; the foe could not be subdued by the weapons they brought to bear against it; and, in their last report, after twenty years of labour and sacrifices, they said—“It is in slavery that the slave-trade has its origin: it is the market provided by the slave-holder which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves; to the murders and conflagrations which attend their capture; to the condensed horrors of the middle passage; and to the misery and degradation of a Continent.”

From that period, enlightened by the experience of the past, the most active of the British abolitionists concentrated their efforts on the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, with what success your lordship need not be informed. It may be sufficient to say that the largest hopes they had ever entertained have been more than realised; and that the happy results which have followed have exceeded their most sanguine expectations, and but for the admission of slave-grown sugars into the British markets, would in their judgment have secured their future and growing prosperity.

In the formation of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, in 1839, with a view of extending its operations to foreign countries, as well as to watch over the great measure of abolition in the British colonies, the principle was laid down, “That so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; and that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will



be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character." Of the soundness of that principle, and the course to be pursued, the Committee have never entertained a doubt; and were any confirmation needed, they have had it in the broad and striking facts which have of late so much occupied the public mind. But, although the Committee have directed their principal attention to the best means of securing the universal abolition of slavery, they have not been unmindful of the important fact that your lordship, and others who have filled the high office you now occupy, have induced the nations of Christendom to enter into treaties for the complete abolition of the execrable traffic in human beings; nor have they been slow to avail themselves of the advantages thus obtained. In the month of March, 1840, the Committee addressed a memorial to your lordship, in which they showed that, under the stipulations of the treaties with this country, Spain, Brazil and Holland were bound to liberate from bondage all slaves illicitly and illegally introduced into their respective colonies and territories, contrary to the letter and spirit of such stipulations. The terms in which they expressed themselves were as follows:—

"Spain, Brazil, and Holland have been, for many years past, under the most solemn engagements to co-operate with this country in the suppression of the slave-trade. Under the treaties which exist with these powers, the Government of this country has acquired the right to demand of them what has become of the Africans, who, it is notorious, have been illicitly and scandalously introduced, by tens of thousands, since the formation of those treaties; and who still continue to be introduced into the colonies and territories of the two former powers, notwithstanding the vigilance of the British cruisers, and an immense expenditure of treasure and of life on the part of this country. And further, in the judgment of this Committee, the Government has not only acquired the right to demand what has become of these victims of cupidity and oppression, but also the power to interpose in their behalf, to declare their right to liberty, and to secure its enjoyment. The Committee would, therefore, beg most earnestly of your lordship to adopt such measures as shall be a test of the sincerity of these powers to abolish the slave-trade, and shall lead, without delay, to the enforcement of their own laws. The importance of such a step must be obvious to your lordship, inasmuch as it would secure the liberty of an immense body of Africans, now unlawfully held as slaves; and, what is even of greater importance, would effectually destroy the slave-trade."

At that time your lordship took precisely the same view of this great question with the Committee; you considered it within the competency of Government to make the demand suggested; and in a despatch, dated the 25th May, 1840, you instructed the British Minister at Madrid to negotiate, with the Spanish Government, a Convention to secure the strict fulfilment of this part of the slave-trade suppression treaties.

In the draft of the Convention forwarded to Madrid, after reciting the dates of the treaties on which the claim of this country rested, and specifying the nature of the tribunal before which the great issue arising out of it should be tried, your lordship stipulates, that "if, upon examination, it shall not be clearly proved to the satisfaction of the said Court that the negroes alleged to have been recently imported from Africa were born in the transatlantic dominions of Spain, or were imported from Africa into those dominions before the 30th of October, 1820, *the said Court shall declare such negroes to be free, and such negroes shall be set free accordingly.*" About the same time, your lordship intimated to the British Minister residing at Rio de Janeiro, that you were prepared to apply the same rule to the negroes illicitly introduced into Brazil, by which measure all African slaves imported into that empire since the 7th of November, 1831, with their descendants, would have been entitled to their freedom.

The Spanish Government did not deny the claim of this country; they became alarmed, because they were convinced that, at length, measures would be taken to give effect to existing treaties; and the alarm spread to Cuba, and, for once, something approaching a sincere desire was expressed by the corporate bodies of that island, as well as by individuals of wealth and position, that the slave-trade, at least, should be wholly discontinued. The effect of your lordship's demand on the Spanish Government is thus described by Mr. Consul Turnbull, in a despatch to your lordship, dated August 31, 1841:—"I have the satisfaction to be able to assure your lordship, that since the date of my last communication on the subject of the popular movement in this island, in favour of

the suppression of the slave-trade, that movement has been accelerated, in a very remarkable manner, by the arrival of an intimation from the supreme Government in Madrid, that Her Britannic Majesty's Government had demanded the emancipation of all the African slaves introduced into the Spanish West Indies since the date of the first of the existing treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade. It is generally believed that the Captain-General has been instructed to obtain the most authentic statistical information as to the number of slaves introduced into the island during the period in question, and, in point of fact, it is known that His Excellency has addressed himself on the subject officially to several of the public or corporate bodies of the island, and also to a number of private individuals; but from the selection of witnesses and parties that has been made, from whom to obtain the means of answering the inquiries of the Regency, it is evident to all the world that His Excellency is resolved, if not to keep his Government in the dark, at least to furnish it with the means, as far as in his power, of making such a representation to your lordship as will serve, if anything will, to defer the evil day which has been so long impending."

Her Majesty's Commissioners at the Havana, in a despatch dated September 15th, 1841, remark:—"A very considerable excitement has prevailed here during the past month, in consequence of information received that your lordship has demanded of the Spanish Government the liberation of all slaves introduced into the island since the year 1820. So righteous a measure must be hailed with the utmost gratification by all who wish the happiness of the human race, and would go far to efface slavery itself from the country. The proposition has roused every individual here to a sense of the evil consequences attending the further prosecution of the trade; and if it has no other effect than that of stopping these continued mal-practices, we should receive it with the utmost satisfaction."

In a subsequent communication, dated Nov. 25th, 1841, the Commissioners, alluding to a report which the Junta de Fomento, or Association for the Promotion of Commerce and Agriculture, had presented to the Captain-General on the subject, observe:—"They report in terms somewhat unbecoming as respects the right of England to interfere with the internal affairs of the island, the writers forgetting that every party to a treaty has an undoubted claim to see that the provisions of a treaty are faithfully observed." They state, at the same time, that the Report of the Patriotic Society, composed almost entirely of Creoles or natives, had "done full justice to the motives of her Majesty's Government, and approved of the British policy in seeking an effective suppression of the slave-trade."

Had your lordship continued long enough in power to perfect these arrangements, it might have reasonably been expected, that the civilized world would not now have had to deplore the continuance of the slave-trade with its accumulated horrors; but rather have had to rejoice in its complete extirpation, so far, at least, as professedly Christian countries are concerned. Unhappily, however, for the cause of humanity, your successor in office suspended negotiations at Madrid, and was contented, for the time, with certain regulations issued by the Spanish Government against the future continuance of the slave-trade, which have remained a dead letter to the present day. In a despatch from Lord Aberdeen to General Sancho, dated Feb. 12, 1842, his lordship says: "The undersigned requests that General Sancho will acquaint Her Highness the Regent, that Her Majesty's Government do not intend at present to press upon the Government of Spain the question of a Convention, for the purpose of examining generally into the condition of the negroes in Cuba; and that Her Majesty's Government learn with pleasure that the Spanish Government have issued orders for preventing the fraudulent importation of negroes as slaves into Cuba, contrary to the engagements entered into by Spain with Great Britain."

Justice, humanity, treaty-stipulations, and treaty-rights—the tortuous course pursued by the Spanish Government on the question—the connivance of its functionaries—the falsehood and deceit practised and detected, and yet practised again—all required that Her Majesty's Government should have been firm in exacting the strict fulfilment of the treaties; but such was not the case, and the dreadful consequence has been, that probably half a million of slaves have since been removed from Africa, to perish in the middle passage, to die under the driver's whip, or to drag out a miserable existence on the plantations or in the mines of Cuba and Brazil.

On its becoming known that the British Government would not press its claim, the alarm subsided, and the slave-trade was conti-



nued, as heretofore, to supply the wastes of mortality, or to people new plantations with slaves. If, during the last three or four years, the number of slaves imported into Cuba, direct from Africa, has not exceeded from one to two thousand per annum, this has arisen from the large stock of negroes thrown on the market for sale, in consequence of the destruction of the coffee estates by the hurricanes of 1844 and 1846; there can be no doubt, however, that when that source of supply is exhausted, and stimulated as sugar production has been by the Sugar Acts of 1846 and 1848, it will soon break out again, as it has already done in Brazil, with greater violence than ever, unless an effectual check is applied. That check, the Committee respectfully submit, will be found in renewing the demand of 1840, in terms that cannot be mistaken or evaded, for the liberation from slavery of all negroes introduced into the Spanish colonies since the 30th of October, 1820, and applying the same principle to Brazil, in relation to all Africans imported into that country since the 7th of November, 1831. The Committee are encouraged to hope that your lordship will readily acquiesce in this recommendation, inasmuch as in a despatch to the Commissary Judge at Havana, dated 22nd November, 1847, you re-assert their right to freedom, and of the British Government to interfere, in the following terms:—"With regard to negroes brought to Cuba from Africa, since the decree of Ferdinand, of Dec. 19, 1817, it is to be observed, that they are by Spanish law entitled to their freedom; and that this right has been claimed for them by the British Government." The Committee, therefore, urge upon your lordship the necessity of immediately renewing the negotiations commenced in 1840, for a Convention with the Spanish Government, and that you will commence similar negotiations with Brazil; that you will fix a period for the conclusion and ratification of such Conventions; and if then the Spanish and Brazilian Governments are not prepared to give them effect, that your lordship will demand of Spain the instant repayment of the £400,000, and interest thereon, paid to her in 1817, as an indemnity for the abandonment of the slave-trade; and that you will notify to the authorities of Spain and Brazil, that on the opening of the next session of Parliament Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to lay before the legislature a bill for the purpose of excluding the produce of their colonies and territories from the British markets, until such time as slavery itself shall be abolished therein.

In respectfully pressing this course upon your lordship, the Committee feel that it is perfectly just and reasonable; that it is within the competency of Government and Parliament; and that, if it be faithfully pursued, it will accomplish the object aimed at, namely, the complete abolition of the Spanish and Brazilian slave-trade, and rescue multitudes of Africans from the degradation and sufferings of slavery, in a manner perfectly consistent with good faith, the national honour, the stipulations of treaties, the laws of Spain and Brazil, and the highest interests of humanity and freedom.

In conclusion, the Committee would call the attention of your lordship to the following extract of an important despatch from the Slave-trade Commissioners at Jamaica, dated the 1st of January, 1848, which contains a statement equally applicable to the sugar planters of Cuba and Brazil, and a moral argument, the force of which they trust will not be lost, either on your lordship, or on your honorable colleagues in the Government. They say:—"If the measures now in progress towards the establishment of a system of pure and simple equality could be so far suspended as to afford an opportunity for the opening of fresh negotiations with the Governments of those countries where sugar is produced by unrequited toil, we have some reason to believe, from what we have seen or heard on the subject, that the sugar planters themselves, in one, at least, of these countries, rather than forego the admission of their produce for consumption in England, would be ready to recommend to their own Government to spare no sacrifice in order to secure the benefit they so highly appreciate, were it even to amount to a measure of immediate and complete emancipation, which, after all, would be the surest and most effective means for the suppression of the slave-trade. But if the present opportunity should be lost, we venture to express our alarm lest the application of free-trade principles to slave-trade products may lead to the positive protection of crimes the most atrocious, and the most relentless oppression, with which the history of the world has ever been disgraced." I have the honour to be, My Lord,

Your lordship's obedient servant,

27, New Broad-street,  
London, 6th Oct. 1848.

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

### HORRORS OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

It is not often that the Parliamentary papers disclose any of the horrors connected with the slave-trade; those for the present year, however, present a few particulars, which we subjoin:—

"The Prize Court has recently investigated a case of more than ordinary horror and atrocity. One of the Portuguese launches stationed along shore fell in, on the 8th ultimo, with a large boat, filled with negroes, between this place and Ambriz. The men in charge of the latter, finding she must be taken, threw the slaves overboard, to the number of eleven, and running the boat aground, escaped into the woods, carrying off with them everything but one sail. Of these eleven negroes, three of whom were females, seven were drowned before the launch could come up with them; one died shortly afterwards; and the survivors, boys from ten to thirteen years of age, on being examined before the Court, all declared that they were the property of a noted slave-dealer."—*Slave-trade Papers, Class A., 1848, p. 171.*

"Her Majesty's Judge at St. Helena gives the case of a schooner, only ten tons, named the *Rey Bargo*, detained by Her Majesty's sloop *Hound*, when sailing without either colours or papers, and having on board, at the time of capture, sixty negroes, the survivors of whom, forty-six in number, were condemned to Her Majesty."—*Ibid. p. 258.*

"Also, that of a brigantine, named the *Luiza*, of one hundred and sixty-two and a half tons, detained by Her Majesty's sloop *Heroine*, with 650 negroes, eighty-three of whom died on the passage."—*Ibid. p. 263.*

Lieutenant Barnard, in a report to the Commander-in-Chief, thus refers to several horrifying facts. He says, "During the time we were at Zanzibar, the American barque, *Lucy Peniman*, brought out a cargo for the purchase of 5,000 slaves, for which the slavers have been making a great rush ever since. In May, 1844, 700 of them were drowned, in a barque called the *Julia*, on the Bassas da India; 300 were burnt in a barracoon, and 200 died of sickness in a small schooner, which attempted to get away, but was obliged to put back with half her miserable cargo; 1,500 were got off from Inhambane and Delagoa Bay, through the agency of Paulo Roderiguo, who had again returned from Rio; 400 were found on board a brig which we drove on shore, and about 350 were taken, or driven on shore by the *Mutine*, which accounts for a great portion of them."—*Ibid. p. 274.*

Commander Sprigg, in a report to the Commodore, dated December 27, 1847, thus alludes to the capture of the *Malaga*, with the attendant circumstances:—

"At eight o'clock in the morning of the 11th of December, a sail was seen about twelve miles a-head. I soon made her out to be a brig. After some time, slaves in masses were visible on her deck. I fired a musket to reduce their sail. On hailing I was informed she had 853 slaves from Loango, three days out. I have been for many years familiar with slave ships, yet the miserable state of this vessel outdid all I had ever seen. It must have been the acme of endurance to them while were chasing, for the crew of the slaver had forced and confined all below, except the sick, and about fifty or so girls, for six hours. I was unable to get at the horrid truths that night, owing to the late hour of capture, which allowed me only to remove thirty-five prisoners and sixty slaves. Next day I found, with four thrown overboard the previous evening, the deaths were twenty-eight, and as many more almost dead, which I attributed to suffocation. Having, fortunately, filled from the rains nearly twenty tuns of water, I was enabled forthwith to remove 271 of the exhausted and sickly cases, which, with the prisoners and our own crew, made nearly 400 on board the *Ferret*; but this was greatly aggravated by the condition, not only of these slaves, but the prisoners, twenty of whom were down with malignant fever, making our decks a scene of loathsome suffering, and calling for our best exertions to aid them. Death ended the cases of four prisoners and thirty-one slaves, during our passage to Sierra Leone, while that of the slaver was eighty-eight. I cannot refrain from mentioning an humble individual in the person of a liberated African boy on board, in soothing the suffering of the slaves, whose dialect was their own.

"I would avoid any unnecessary mention of the misery that existed when captured; but as you are aware, Sir, that the hasty conversion of vessels from mercantile pursuits to slavers, always inflicts a deplorable cruelty on the slaves, from the deficiencies of ventilation



and the usual accommodations to feed them, so, in this case, the sordid avarice of this wealthy proprietor is to be abhorred, for he embarked one-half on his own account, with permission for the other factories to cram her to the extent of 853, charging 110 milreals each for all that should reach Brazil. Had the number been confined to 550, the space would then afford room and a chance of life."—*Ibid.* 328-9.

Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, in his report to the Admiralty, dated April 7, 1847, says:—"On rounding Cape Lopez the character of the slave-trade changes, and the speculation on the part of the Brazilian is founded on the principle of employing vessels of little value, to be crowded to excess with slaves. It is said that one arrival in four pays the adventure; here it is, therefore, that the traffic assumes its most horrid form. At this moment the *Penelope* has in tow a slaver of certainly not more than sixty tons, in which 312 human beings were stowed; the excess of imagination cannot depict a scene more revolting."—*Ibid.* p. 289.

Consul Porter, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, dated Bahia, December 31, 1847, alludes to the case of the *George*, which sailed from Bahia for Africa on the 29th of August, and returned on the 16th of December, under Brazilian colours, and the name of *Tentativa*, landing a cargo of 726 slaves in a miserable state of starvation; 111 poor creatures having perished on the passage from deficiency of water and provisions.—*Class B.*, p. 289.

#### FREE-LABOUR PRODUCE.

An excellent little tract, written by J. Passmore Edwards, on the disuse of slave-labour produce, has been sent to us by the author, with a request that we would notice it in our columns. We cheerfully do this, by giving its substance, and heartily recommend it to our friends for extensive circulation.

"SWEET TO THE TASTE AND BITTER TO THE THOUGHT."

"England has done more than any other country of modern times for the destruction of slavery; and, paradoxical as it may appear, she is now doing more than any other country in Europe to sustain and extend it. Slavery, at the present moment, is widening and fortifying itself, on account of the great and increasing demand for the productions of slave-labour. The English people consume and manufacture more of those productions than the people of any other country; and, consequently, they are, in the most practical and substantial manner, doing more to build up the evil they once laboured so heroically to put down. England, at the present time, is virtually stultifying herself in the eyes of the world. She is acting contrary to her faith. Her practice runs counter to her profession. She condemns slavery in her creed and upholds it by her conduct. She is permitting political economy to flourish in the very vitals of philanthropy. The higher claims of humanity are forgotten in the lower considerations of supply and demand—in pounds, shillings, and pence. Just as the price of sugar has decreased in this country, the demand for human flesh has increased in Cuba and the Brazils. Slavery has increased in proportion to the demand for its labour, and the slave-trade in proportion to the increase of slavery. Since the reduction of the differential duties on Cuban and Brazilian sugars by the British parliament, in 1846, the number of slaves imported into those places has increased a hundred per cent. From 1840 to 1845 the yearly average number of imported slaves into Cuba and Brazil was 32,000; during the years 1846 and 1847, after the reduction of the sugar duties, the number rose to between 64,000 and 65,000.

"Since the introduction of the cruising system, the practice of over-crowding the ships in which slaves are carried, has appallingly increased. Small vessels, of 130 tons burden, have been captured with nearly 500 human beings stowed away between the decks. According to the most recent evidence, the unfortunate creatures 'are packed into vessels on their sides; they are generally jammed in, in such masses that, even allowing that there was elevation sufficient for them to rise up, they could not do so without the whole section moving together. They are put like books upon a shelf. Food is conveyed to them frequently by some half-witted person kept for the purpose. The person who performs it has to get on a mass of filth, and almost upon a mass of living bodies at the same time. Frequently, those that are more remote do not get any food at all.' The Africans are accustomed, from the earliest period of life, to drink water in very large quantities; they require it. Their sufferings from the want of it are much more dreadful than ours would be in like circumstances. On board the slave ships a

cupfull, given once in three days, is said, sometimes, to be all that is allowed. It has been found that this supports life; but the agony thus occasioned is indescribable. It is ten times more horrible than that which is caused by want of food. 'In the case of a death, the body lies amongst the living until an alarm is given, and sometimes until it becomes putrid. When landed, the unhappy slaves are in a state of most awful emaciation and suffering.' 'The knee bones appear almost like the head of a person; the muscular part of the arm is gone, it is mere bone covered with a skin; the abdomen is highly protuberant. There is a complete wasting of the animal system, a mere mass of bones remain. A man takes them up in his arms, and carries them out of the vessel. They frequently require three months' care and feeding before they are fit for the market.' The most favourable cargoes at the present time are boys of from eight to twelve years of age. 'They pack more conveniently.'

"Such are the present customary atrocities of this thrice-accursed traffic, as reported by the Committee of the House of Commons last Session.

"The cruelties attendant upon the slave-trade are not less horrible than those associated with slavery. An eye-witness who visited Cuba says:—'It was crop time. The mills went round night and day. On every estate (I scarcely hope to be believed when I state the fact) every slave was worked under the whip eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and in the boiling houses from five to six P.M.; and from eleven o'clock to midnight, when half the people were concluding their eighteen hours' work, the sound of the hellish lash was incessant; indeed it was necessary, to keep the over-taxed wretches awake. The six hours during which they rested were spent in a barracoon—a strong, foul, close sty, where they wallowed without distinction of age or sex. There was no marrying amongst the slaves on the plantations. Religious instruction and medical aid were not carried out generally beyond baptism and vaccination. Whilst at work the slaves were stimulated by drivers, armed with swords and whips, and protected by magnificent blood-hounds.'

"Certainly, under such circumstances, we are paying too dear a price for our cheap sugars. We are purchasing them at the price of blood, life, splendid national traditions, and the hope of masses of the coloured race. Doubtless, reader, you are anti-slavery in your professions. What Englishman is not? Bear in mind, then, that the chief portion of the sugar consumed in this country is the produce of labour wrung by torture from your fellow-man. Such sugars are smeared with the blood of the innocent and oppressed. They may be sweet to the taste, but they are bitter to the thought. Be not a party to their consumption. Discontinue, in every practicable way, their use in the world. Promote the sale of the produce of free-labour. Battle against the palate rather than principle. Prefer sacrifice to sin. Rather not know the taste of sugar than be responsible for the broad black iniquity of slavery. A sufficient amount of free-grown sugar can be obtained. Purchase where you can have an honourable guarantee that the produce is not saturated with tears and blood. Increase your power of resolve by unflinchingly living out your faith, and showing the world the integrity of your purpose by the consistency of your practice. And such conduct, I think, is demanded from you at the present time. Arduous struggles made glorious by sacrifice, and the magnanimous exhibition of the nation's will in freeing the slaves of our colonies, call on you to do your utmost in putting an end to a system which makes so many of the fairest portions of the earth like fragments of hell. Let the supply from slave-produce be stopped, and the demand for slaves will cease. Let individuals do their duty, and the parliament will soon follow their example by the re-imposition of such differential duties as shall prevent the possibility of Cuban and Brazilian sugars being brought to our market. The people must move the parliament. Our anti-slavery devotedness and zeal have been shown before, and why cannot they be shown again, now the cries of the negro are so loud and piercing. The slave-trade cannot be suppressed by surrounding the coasts of Africa with squadrons. That experiment has been tried, and proved a signal failure. It is impossible to extinguish slavery and the slave-trade by brute force, but it can be done by judiciously directed moral power.

"I do not express these sentiments as a protectionist, but as a free trader. Interchange carried on with goods, the result of labour stolen from the black man, cannot be called free trade, any more than goods purchased from a well-known thief can be called honest dealing. While punishing the thief for his transgressions, with



the hope of reforming him, let us also show our indignation of the man-stealer by preventing, in all possible ways, the sale and consumption of his blood-stained merchandise. If we cannot do what we would, let us cheerfully do what we can. Let us show the depth of our sincerity, and the loftiness of our love, by all well-directed personal and parliamentary means in favour of the negro race, and thereby add another laurel to the chaplet encircling the nation's brow; and give the world another guarantee that humanity will yet be redeemed."

#### THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

We hail with sincere satisfaction every movement in Brazil which gives promise that there are yet to be found in that empire men who dare speak and write in condemnation of the atrocious system of slavery, and who propose, however feebly, its ultimate abolition. Three journals, the *Nitheray*, the *Monarchiste*, and the *Contemporaneo*, have recently had articles on the subject, the substance of which we propose to lay before our readers.

The *Nitheray* journal speaks as follows:—

"The protectors of the contraband trade in slaves, in order to diminish the odium inherent to their crimes, say, that if it were not for that contraband trade our agriculture would ~~cease~~. In thus seeking for a pretext 'in the interests of the public,' they think it is not generally known that they, the contrabandistas, pay largely for the protection given them; and that if the contrabandista buys protection of his crime, it is not for our welfare that he carries on the traffic, but with the view to satiate his wishes and hopes of enriching himself in a short time, and without working.

"Every one knows the perfidy of such assertions; and if these men find sale for the victims of their greediness, it is because sundry of our administrations have chosen to protect them, and have omitted doing that which intelligent and just administrators ought to have done.

"In truth, if we except five or six individuals, who possess numerous slaves who cost them nothing, not one proprietor of land exists in Brazil who is unaware of the disadvantages accruing from the employment of slaves in agriculture. Such, however, are the circumstances in which our governors endeavour to keep the country, that, in spite of this knowledge, they are compelled to resort to this only means of cultivating their properties.

"There is not a planter in Brazil, on a large or small scale, who does not know that he is acting the part of a player pointing at a faro table—that nothing but hope is on his side, while on the part of the contrabandista all is certain gain.

"All possessors of lands know that, in order to cultivate them, they must spend double the value of their property in the purchase of slaves; all of them know what losses they suffer by the mortality of the slaves—they all estimate the diminution of the value of their surviving slaves in the course of time. Finally, none of them are ignorant of the fact that they are not working for themselves, that they are toiling for those who furnished them with slaves; but, led away by the illusory hopes of gamblers, all of them expect their card will turn up to the left, and, in this eagerness, they fall victims to their hopes and to usury!

"So general is the knowledge of the disadvantage of cultivation with slave labour, that estates are daily offered for sale, and others would be offered if purchasers presented themselves. It is sufficient to compare the total value of an establishment of this nature with its annual net produce, to palpably ascertain that slave labour only suited us, looking only to the question of revenue, when the slave only cost 200 milreis, and coffee was selling at five milreis per arroba (32lb.)

"If the employment of slaves in agriculture ruins those planters who raise produce on a large scale, it also produces another, and still worse evil, which is, that those who do not enjoy sufficient credit to obtain slaves, do not apply themselves to agriculture. The cultivation of lands being handed over to the slaves, white men fancy it degrading to employ themselves in that way—thus the formation of small agricultural properties is prevented, the development of public wealth and population is impeded, and men are condemned to idleness and celibacy, who would be heads of families and proprietors, if slavery did not exist in Brazil.

"We have an example in Brazil of the truth of these principles. Pernambuco, where the planters formerly were in the really unfortunate state in which those of Rio de Janeiro are at present, and where cultivation was only carried on upon a large scale, has not imported any slaves since 1830. Pernambuco has seen its agricultural proprietors pay off all their debts. Pernambuco has seen its agriculture increase considerably, nay, prodigiously, by the formation of small properties. Pernambuco has seen idleness disappear, and those persons apply themselves to agriculture, who, while slaves were imported, were the true parasites of society.

"If, therefore, the introduction of slaves is even prejudicial to the interests of agriculture, what even apparent motive can there be alleged for the protection or toleration of it, seeing that it destroys the fortunes of individuals, and threatens the public with endless calamities?"

The *Monarchiste* expresses itself in the following terms:—

"Happily for our country the time is past in which but very few voices dared to condemn the traffic in slaves, for, although almost every one considered it an evil, still it was considered to be one of such necessity that Brazil could not give it up. Now-a-days the friends of humanity, and especially those of the greatness and civilization of the empire, observe with pleasure the dissipation of that illusion and error, and that the true interests of the empire are being better understood.

"The minds of Brazilians are being impressed with the conviction that, far from domestic slavery being necessary to our husbandry, it is only a serious obstacle to its attaining perfection, and that its influence over all our affairs is most baneful. It was the conviction of this truth which caused an association, composed of eminent philosophers and lovers of their country, 'The Auxiliary of National Industry,' to discuss the means for putting an end to those evils.

"Not only an association which zealously endeavours to promote the improvement of our industry, but also authorities to whom the destinies of the country are intrusted, begin to entertain the same opinion; and in order to point out one of those authorities, which alone is worth all others, we shall quote the intention of our adored monarch, in his recommendation to the Brazilian legislature, of the utility of promoting European colonization to the empire, and which certainly meant the existing necessity of prudently and providently extinguishing domestic slavery in our country.

"But what has been done up to the present moment towards the realization of so humane and patriotic a design? What has been done towards abolishing the traffic in slaves, and promoting the colonization which would produce a profitable substitution in their room? Nothing—with great sorrow we say it—nothing. Whilst we have wasted our time in the discussion of so pressing a subject, we have allowed the evil to increase; and if we go on in this manner, we shall never reach that degree of prosperity and of greatness which we ought to attain.

"It is only in the journalist's arena that we can militate, and in it we shall take upon ourselves to arouse those in whose hands the nation has placed its destinies, from their apparent neglect of so very important an object, and to cause the opinions of all our citizens to converge towards the fitness of removing so serious an obstacle to our civilisation and greatness.

"The extinction of domestic slavery, is, perhaps, the most vital necessity of the empire; but it is proper this measure should be carried out with consummate prudence, for if, led away by the follies of injudicious humane feelings, we were to act with precipitation, we should only draw upon ourselves fatal calamities. We deem it necessary to act with energy, but at the same time with circumspection, as we must respect legitimate private rights, and, above all, the interests of the nation.

"Conformably to these ideas, we shall combat for the gradual extinction of slavery. We shall not review in this place what we judge to be the most adequate means to attain that end, because we can only do so at considerable length, to give it the necessary development; this will be the subject-matter of articles which we shall go on publishing. We may, withal, already point out some which we hold as expedient, and which are worthy of being further expatiated upon. Our planters cannot with justice be accused, excepting of the error under which they labour, of imagining that they cannot proceed in their agricultural proceedings without slaves. If we should show them that their true interests call for free labour, the first and most important step in this patriotic undertaking will have been taken; for, without any doubt, the concurrence of our planters will greatly facilitate the adoption of the next indispensable means—the repression of the traffic. In conjunction with the measures for the gradual extinction of slavery, it will be necessary to introduce colonists into the country, who shall be substituted for slaves, principally in our husbandry, in proportion as these disappear. The means whereby we are to obtain the desired colonization with the greatest advantage to the country, is a subject which should claim the attention of all Brazilians, and specially of our legislators.

"In this sense we offer those ideas which we consider most suitable to the case; and we begin by saying that, in our opinion, colonists from the north of Europe are unquestionably those most adapted to our necessities, without, however, forgetting to call to the enjoyment of those blessings which nature has showered upon us to so considerable an extent, those men who, born in the same country where we first drew breath, lead an erratic and savage life in our forests, and who appear to have more right to our fostering care. Nor is this only a duty of humanity, it is also the interest of Brazil, so much in want of population.

"Our object, therefore, is to obtain the abolition of the traffic in slaves, the instruction of the aborigines, and European colonization; and without any other ambition than that of discharging the debt which all good citizens owe to their country, we shall strenuously strive for the realisation of these objects, connected as they are, in our opinion, with true and solid policy.

"As Brazilians (the editors of the *Monarchiste*), we follow the politics



of one of the parties into which our society is divided; but as in the arena of journalism we only plead the cause of colonization, of the instruction of the aborigines, and of the gradual extinction of slavery, objects which belong to no one party, but to all parties alike, we do not consider it necessary to pronounce ourselves partial to either of these parties.

"We know that in this undertaking we shall encounter many obstacles; but the love of our country, and the assistance which we reckon upon from those men in whose breasts truly Brazilian hearts are beating, are firm pledges to us that we shall overcome them. And further, we obey our consciences, we do all we can; and if we should succeed in obtaining something in favour of our country, we shall consider ourselves amply rewarded for our trouble; if, on the contrary, we should fail, we shall at least have the satisfaction of feeling that we have complied with our duty as citizens."

The denunciation of the great slave-dealers in Brazil is worthy of remark, by way of contrast to the commendation given in a letter to the British Consul.

The *Contemporaneo* speaks, in still louder tones, in condemnation of the slave-trade, and of its thrice-infamous abettors:—

"We were present on the 14th at the trial by jury, and had the opportunity to witness the re-action which is being effected on the minds of the public, and even on those of the authorities, against so abominable a traffic, condemned by religion and by our laws. It appears that a merchant, a commander of the Order of Christ, had received information, some months back, that two or three knaves had combined with his overseer to go to his house at St. Christovao, with the intent to steal some of his blacks, vulgarly called 'Meias Caras,' and, in consequence, communicated the same to the late chief of police, who, in order to protect said merchant's property, sent some policemen to watch for the robbers at the appointed time; the latter, independent of being sure of their booty, expecting moreover to have a hundred years' pardon. The policemen (only according to their report) were successful in their proceedings, because they arrested the *Recontrabandistas*, with the blacks in their possession, on the point of embarkation at the beach of San Christovao; but whether it was by a free act of their own, or by order of their superior (which we do not believe), the said policemen, instead of conveying the robbers and the stolen blacks apprehended by order of the chief of police to prison, handed over the blacks, at the late hour of the night, on that solitary beach (we do not know how many blacks there were), to a person who claimed them as his, and who, for what we know, desired them to release one of the supposed robbers (as we heard three were captured), for only two were presented for trial, as appears by the report of proceedings of the tribunal, given in the *Journal de Commercio*, of the 15th instant.

"Many persons who have read that report have expressed astonishment at the facts therein announced. The first is, that the two persons accused by a proprietor merchant, of the rank of the said commander, of the attempt to steal some of his slaves, should go before a jury without an advocate to defend them, and be, notwithstanding that, absolved! The second is, that although an accuser presented himself, the municipality was condemned to pay the costs! But we, who were present at the debates of the jury, were not only not at all surprised, but even found that, with few exceptions, the proceedings, if not in order, were at least conducted on the principle of equity.

"From what we have above said, it is clear that the jury could not avoid acquitting the accused, because it is not shown in the report of the trial that the slaves, said to have been stolen, were confronted with those persons accused of the attempt to steal them; that confrontation having been rendered impossible by the delivery of them, when apprehended, to the accuser, against whom, as was very properly said, according to our recollection, by the presiding Judge and Attorney-General, the accusation should be termed—not that of an attempt to steal slaves, but *that of reducing free men to slavery*; an opinion that was applauded by all the spectators and jury present, and was seized by the counsel of the latter, which unanimously acquitted the two accused persons; the judge, at the same time, condemning the municipality in the costs, because the accuser cunningly—or perhaps he was *too poor* to bear the expense—left it to justice to defend his cause, freeing himself by that means from not only the necessity of paying a lawyer and an attorney, but from the costs, which, as he calculated, have fallen on the municipality of the very loyal and heroic city of Rio de Janeiro! It is, however, the first time we have heard the matter so veritably commented upon as was done by the Judge and Attorney-General; they deserve praise for their independent language. But if the *Squaremas* were in power, another sort of cock would crow. We can only recommend the accusing commander to be in future as cautious and sparing of his accusations as he is of his purse—let him keep in mind that witchcraft sometimes turns against the wizard.

"Some one was on the point of calling him to the bar of the tribunal. We believe that one of the jury proposed this in a loud manner; and if he was not listened to, it may be that the *re-action* is not yet quite complete. Let us go on thus—we are advancing. If it was the duty of

the policemen to apprehend those persons who attempted to perpetrate that robbery, it was also their bounden duty to apprehend the *bocal* negroes they found in their possession, and to take them immediately before the competent authority. If they had acted thus, instead of handing them over to the accusing commander—if the other authorities did not shut their eyes to the scandalous traffic which is carried on even in the centre of this city on a large scale, in the face of all, and in spite of our laws, we should not be witnesses of so many calamities—we should not be the victims of so many pestilential emanations produced by the accumulation of thousands of those unfortunates on different points, as well in the suburbs as in the capital itself. Those focuses of infection are one of the real causes of the diseases which our sleepy-headed imperial academists term *reigning* and *endemic*.

"Let that nuisance be removed to a distance; let those infected lazarettos be duly inspected; let the attention of the authorities be called to the filthiness of those disgusting depôts of human flesh, frequently the prey of anticipated putrefaction brought on by hideous diseases—and the pestilential small-pox, the severe and purulent ophthalmias, and the pernicious *et ceteras*, will disappear from the healthy soil of Santa Cruz.

"When this kind of traffic was formerly permitted, and that honest merchants sought to make their fortunes by it, the depôts for the blacks were kept clean; there were health officers charged with keeping a watch to prevent dangerous accumulations, not only over those arriving in a sickly state, but also over the healthy. Now-a-days, everything is permitted or tolerated; the traffic may be carried on—that is, winked at—and the result thereof is the great immorality proceeding from the purposeful disrespect for, and continued disobedience of, the laws; but no one is at liberty to busy himself about, or to inveigh against, that trade. Thousands of negroes *bocals* are allowed to be scattered throughout the empire; but no one considers it his bounden duty to bear in view the innumerable disasters resulting from so licentious a course. The traffic is now in the hands of vile and interested traders, whose only object is gain, whose consciences, hardened in the career of vice and crime, care not for the sufferings thereby occasioned to humanity. Hardened by the continual sight of the horrid sufferings of the victims daily sacrificed by them in the holds of the small and confined vessels, in which they are heaped like little fish on a dish, and where they die by hundreds, how can those ill-doers be expected to reflect on the miasmatic insalubrity which those unfortunate beings may occasion us by being accumulated round our shores?

"Nor do they ever consider that they themselves may, sooner or later, fall victims to their imprudent covetousness; their petrified ears do not even choose to listen to the groans of those delegates sent by them to seek death where they expected to find gold. And may not the mortality among those overseers and captains be, peradventure, a chastisement by Divine Providence, who decimates with an un pitying scythe such bloody instruments of crime. It does appear as if God's justice does not allow those who go to infringe the laws of humanity, to return without sepulchral marks of infamy engraved on their foreheads, in order that honest men, at the sight of their green-hued cheeks, may avoid coming in contact with their impure and blood-stained hands.

"We sincerely hope and trust that the enlightened statesmen who have taken the reins of government will fully understand the necessity for the regeneration of the human species, and that they will cause greater benefit to be derived from the race which serves us than has hitherto been reaped, both by favouring the planters and large proprietors so as to induce them to improve that species and civilise them, and to cause them to preserve their progeny better, thus transforming into excellent and very economical colonists those who may have been smuggled into the country; punishing severely those infamous wretches who seek to make slaves of their unfortunate fellow-beings, not with the intention of bringing labourers to Brazil for the purpose of promoting its prosperity, but with the sordid hope of incalculable gains, wrenched drop by drop from the blood of human kind.

"Whilst all civilized Europe is endeavouring to rise in a body in favour of the regeneration of our species—whilst the most sublime ideas of human genius are beginning to be carried out by reformers—whilst those nations which do not, like us, enjoy innumerable prerogatives, and a constitutional representative monarchy, are endeavouring to shake off the despotic yokes of iron sceptres, forcing themselves from the grievous slavery which oppressed them—Brazil, shamelessly looking on with indifference at such noble efforts and such worthy sentiments, is consenting that, in the midst of a free people, a few ambitious dealers, mostly strangers, in spite of the prohibition, in spite of solemn treaties, and with scandalous disregard of all rules of humanity, of all laws, human and divine—is consenting, we say, to allow these savages to continue to infest our shores with their illicit traffic, and to introduce without cessation into the heart of our population hundreds of slaves, the true germs of demoralization, of retrogradation, and of a thousand other calamities.

"We are filled with so much indignation in treating on this subject, that it is with difficulty we can indite a few lines on so abject a business, and on the troubles and infinite misfortunes brought on this country by this infamous traffic. To this plague Brazil is indebted for the excessive immorality into which it has fallen, not only because, by the continuance



of the trade after its abolishment, the people are accustoming themselves to disregard laws which they see daily trampled under foot by the contrabandistas, but also because those ill-doers, availing themselves of their ill-acquired wealth, derived from so impure a source, are unscrupulously bribing and corrupting the subaltern authorities employed to repress this kind of piracy. This is the sore which is gnawing the vitals of Brazil by the importation into its bosom of thousands of focuses of contagious rottenness, which, with the rapidity of lightning, disseminate themselves throughout our population, and contaminate it with their immediate and impure contact, thereby producing, and especially among children, those noisome complaints which are the perdition of thousands of families otherwise virtuous, healthy, and robust.

"And what is the cause of all these evils, taking it for granted that the toleration of the traffic cannot be avoided? Why, the want of vigilance, the want of proper sanitary laws, the absurdity of admitting vessels laden with filthy slaves, suffering from the itch, syphilis, scrofula, and other heinous contagious disorders, into our ports. It is true, that our sanitary police place some empty vessels in quarantine, which, having been previously delivered of their burdens on the neighbouring shores, have had time to be cleaned and aired, and consequently cannot occasion contagion; but whilst that laughable quarantine is placed on the innocent hulls of vessels which are kept unapproachable for a few days, the real sources of contagion, the infected blacks and whites, freely disembarked, are introduced into the cities, where they form different focuses of miasmatic infection. Only a few days since, a brig, which we are told belongs to one of our decorated Europeans, and is called the *Antipathico*, which had taken upwards of 1,000 slaves on board in Africa, arrived here with only about 300 lank messengers of the plague which immolated their brethren. These unfortunate beings, attenuated through fatigue, half dead from the want of water, of provisions, of proper treatment on board, appear to have been spared for the purpose of bringing us deadly diseases, the sorrowful inheritance of the victims thrown overboard by them. And the steamers of some of our celebrated companies did not allow them to remain, for at least a few days, at the place of disembarkation; they brought them in huddled together with many others previously landed, to come and heap them up close to the habitation of our beloved monarch, where an accumulation of this sort, added to the putrefaction of the neighbouring swamps, becomes the seat of pestiferous miasmas, which are daily blown upon the unfortunate capital of the empire. Oh, barbarous traffickers, bowless men! who, not contented with the shameful speculations carried on in those caves which you call houses of consignment and pledges, seek further a sordid gain in the commerce of human flesh—how long will you remain deaf to the cries, sent from eternity, of so many thousands of miserable beings suffocated by you in the holds of your ships?

"When will the hour strike for expelling from the sacred temple of liberty those vile dealers—that reprobate recreant which dishonours society, which degrades the human species? It is full time that we should remove those cannibals, before the patience of the public is exhausted; for, less indulgent, it may accelerate the moment of reprisals, and may in this world make a beginning to Divine vengeance, for which the afflicted cries of millions of victims are loudly calling from the deep abyss of that sea, the transparency whereof cannot hide the horror of so many crimes, of so many cowardly assassinations, of so many infamies."

We place in contrast with this strong denunciation of the slave-dealers of Brazil, the conduct of certain British merchants at Rio de Janeiro, who, to their lasting dishonour, in a case in which one of their body was supposed to be implicated in aiding and abetting the slave-trade, gave the following certificate in favour of a wretch of the name of Manoel Pinto da Fonseca, notorious for his extensive dealings in human beings:—

"Rio de Janeiro, Sept. 15th, 1844.—We, the undersigned British merchants in this place, do hereby declare and certify, that Senhor Manoel Pinto da Fonseca is a large proprietor, one of the most extensive general merchants in this market, and who enjoys, and has enjoyed for many years past, unbounded credit here, from his well-known means to meet his responsibilities, and his correctness in doing so."

(Signed) Hildyard, Clegg, and Co.; Watson, Spence, and Co.; Miller, Le Cocq, and Co.; Jas. Dalgleish, Thompson, and Co.; Astley, Altjori, and Co.; Freeland, Ker, Collings, and Co.; P. P. Hogg, Adam, and Co.; Thos. M. Ewbank; William Petty and Co.; Hoyle, Hargreaves, and Co.; Samuel Phillips and Co.; Finnie, Brothers, and Co.; Naylor, Brothers, and Co.; Andrew and Edwards; Mackay, Miller, and Co.; Phipps, Brothers; William Moon and Co.; William Harrison and Co.; Pearson, Browne, and Co.; Durham, Bunn, and Co.; Samuel Brothers and Co.

The names of Carruthers and Co. are not attached to the certifi-

cate, because they were the parties who handed it to the British Consul, Mr. Hesketh, to show the British Government how worthy was the man with whom they had dealings, of all honour and confidence. In the letter which accompanied it they say:—"The enclosed document proves that the party who gave us the order for the cargo of the *Agnes*, brought from Liverpool, is one of the most extensive general merchants of this market; indeed, his position is such, that we cannot conceive that any British establishment here would refuse to take an order from him for British manufactures to any extent." Yet, this Manoel Pinto da Fonseca is a slave-dealer, and nothing else—yet this man is known to have boasted openly in Rio de Janeiro, "that his profits in the African trade, during the year 1844, were 1,300,000,000 reas, or about £150,000!" The Consul returned the document to Carruthers and Co.; they forced it upon him a second time, and when it was finally transmitted home, April 16th, 1846, the British Minister, Mr. Hamilton, attached to it the following remarks:—"There was really an unwillingness on my part to submit to the consideration of Government, if it could possibly be avoided, the documentary evidence which is here given, by a body of British merchants, in favour of Senhor Fonseca. *There is not an individual among the subscribers who can be accounted ignorant that the considerable property held by Senhor Fonseca is the fruit exclusively of his extensive slave-speculations; and that, until he engaged in them, he was only an inferior clerk in a mercantile establishment, with very limited means at his command.*" The fact is, and it cannot be disguised, that British merchants and manufacturers furnish the *pabulum* by which a large part of the slave-trade is carried on; and although, from the circumstances of the case, direct legal evidence of their participation in it cannot be obtained, it is nevertheless true, and they know it to be so.

#### INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF MARTINIQUE AND GUADALOUPE INTO THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

We mentioned, in the last *Reporter*, that the two French colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe had elected their representatives to the French National Assembly. We are now able to state that they have taken their seats among that body. Two of these gentlemen are coloured, and two completely black, one of the latter having been formerly a slave. The former slaves, who through the Act of Emancipation had been put in possession of their personal freedom, and who, with the formerly unenfranchised portion of the community, had together been invested with the right of the suffrage, voted at the election, and thus were put on an equality with their hitherto more favoured brethren.

We are much gratified in being able to say that these gentlemen were not only received with courtesy and kindness by their colleagues, but with an enthusiasm which does honour to the important body of which they now form a part.

The following particulars are taken from the *Constitutionnel*:—

"House of Assembly, 17th of October.

"The *Reporter*, on the elections which had taken place at Martinique, stated that M. Bisette had obtained 19,850 votes; M. Pory-Papy, 19,263; M. Schœlcher, 19,117 votes; M. Mazuline, 18,504, and M. France, 16,702. Against their election there were numerous protests, in consequence, first, of the different orders issued by the Provisional Government and the National Assembly; secondly, on the ground of intimidation; thirdly, that M. Perrinon and M. Pory-Papy had used undue influence to secure their election; fourthly, that the electoral lists had not been properly prepared, &c., &c. An inquiry was suggested into the truth of these allegations in regard to all the elections, with the exception of that of M. Bisette, who had given in his resignation, for some cause which does not appear. M. Pory-Papy vindicated the elections at the tribune:—He said, 'Permit me to give you certain explanations which seem indispensable after the report which has been read. I will not insist upon the danger which may arise by exciting the passions of the people in the colonies, by opening an inquiry into the validity of the elections. I will characterize the protests, however, which have been sent to you: they are not, certainly, protests against the abolition of slavery, but they are protests against universal suffrage, against popular sovereignty in the colonies. I declare that the citizens of the colonies are animated by a sincere love for France, and by a lively admiration for the glorious revolution of February. Never were elections conducted with more calmness than those of Martinique, if one considers that it was the first time that universal suffrage had been prac-



tised. There were 25,000 voters, of whom 5,000 were whites and 20,000 men of colour. About 20,000 in all voted; and yet only a few firemen were required to keep order. Out of the 20,000 votes, one received 19,000. Is it rational to believe that such unanimity could be produced by fraud or violence? The Chamber was satisfied with these explanations; but on M. Deslongrais insisting that the elections should be annulled, M. Pory-Papy again ascended the tribune, and replied to the accusations *seriatim*. In the course of his speech he observed: 'As to M. Schœlcher, it is true that his influence is immense in the colony, and that the people of colour feel for him the most ardent sympathies.' In relation to M. Perrinon, the Commissary-General appointed by the Provisional Government, M. Pory-Papy said, 'that his visit of inspection through the colony was not an electioneering visit; it had for its sole object the re-organization of labour on those plantations where it had been suspended?' In conclusion the orator said, 'I again repeat, the people of colour of Martinique have deputed me to declare that they feel a profound regard for France, and the deepest gratitude to the Republic, which has delivered them from a position of suffering and ignominy which their race had endured for centuries past.' M. Isambert defended the elections; M. Jules de Laësteyrie vindicated the character of M. Perrinon. Finally, the Assembly voted in favour of the validity of the elections, and accepted the resignation of M. Bissette."

The members elected for Guadeloupe are as follows:—M. Perrinon, 16,233 votes; M. Schœlcher, 16,633 votes; M. Charles Dain, 10,996 votes; substitutes, M. Mathieu, 11,632 and M. Wallon, 11,582 votes.

"House of Assembly, 20th October.

"During the time M. Deslongrais was engaged in addressing the Assembly, on the internal administration of France, M. Louisy Mathieu, a black, elected as one of the members of Guadeloupe, was introduced to the Chamber, and conducted to his place by one of the ushers. In reaching this position he had to traverse the whole length of the hall. This little incident created an extraordinary sensation. M. Mathieu seated himself by the side of a coloured gentleman, M. Pory-Papy, one of the representatives for Martinique, and inquired what the scene he witnessed meant. Several representatives replied to the question of the honourable member by a cordial shake of the hand. Shortly after M. Mathieu moved to another part of the Chamber, and the same reception waited him, when he seated himself by the side of M. Lamennais. Several members of the Mountain rose and addressed their compliments to the new member, and some minutes elapsed before the agitation of the Assembly ceased. The President, addressing the group who surrounded M. Mathieu, requested them to take their places, and reminded them that they could pay their respects at a later period of the day."—*Constitutionnel*.

Immediately after the decision of the Assembly, in relation to M. Bissette, it proceeded to declare valid the election of M. Mazuline, a black, and formerly a slave, as the substitute in place of M. Bissette. M. Mazuline's introduction, as might be expected, excited no little curiosity on the part of the Assembly. M. Mazuline is held in the highest estimation for his personal excellences.

In a discussion which took place in the House, on the 23rd of October, on Article 114 of the Constitution, it was resolved, that

"The territory of Algeria and of the colonies is declared French territory, and shall be governed by special laws.' On the presentation of this Article, M. H. Didier proposed the following amendment: 'The territory of Algiers is declared French territory, and shall be governed by the present Constitution, under the variations and exceptions which shall be declared by law. The territory of the French colonies is likewise declared French territory, and shall be governed by special laws.' The Committee on the Constitution has proposed to add to the first paragraph of the Article the following words: 'Until a special law shall place them under the regime of the present Constitution;' the second clause of the Article being omitted. Several members took part in the discussion which ensued. The amendment was rejected. Another amendment was proposed by MM. Schœlcher, Pory-Papy, and C. Dain, as follows: 'The present Constitution is applicable to Martinique, Guadeloupe, Réunion (Bourbon), and Guiana. These colonies shall enjoy the common law of France, save in such exceptions as shall be proper to each of them, each of which shall be determined by law.' The amendment was rejected and the Article adopted.

"M. Schœlcher, who has been elected both by Guadeloupe and Martinique as their representative, has made his selection of the latter colony, and has taken his seat accordingly. M. Louisy Mathieu, the black, the first substitute for Guadeloupe, sits as representative for that colony."

Just published, 12mo. sewed, Price fourpence,

THE BELOVED CRIME, OR THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH AT ISSUE, A friendly Address to the Americans. Also some Remarks on the Duty of encouraging Free-labour Produce. By the Author of 'A Word on behalf of the Slave,' &c.

London: Charles Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate-street Without.

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1st, 1848.

We beg to direct the special attention of our readers to the memorial which will be found at the commencement of our present *Reporter*, on the slave-trade and its remedy. It was presented to Lord Palmerston on the 26th instant, by a deputation of the Anti-slavery Committee, and, we may venture to say, was favourably received. The object of the memorial was to induce his lordship to renew the demand for the liberation of African slaves, imported into the Brazilian empire and the Spanish colonies contrary to the faith of treaties. On a moderate computation, this would emancipate two-thirds of the slaves in Cuba, and one-half of those in Brazil, who, contrary to every principle of justice, and of existing laws, are held in bondage, subject to the merciless exactions of their rapacious masters, and to the tortures of the slave-whip. These unhappy creatures are entitled to their freedom; every hour they are detained in slavery is not only a grievous wrong done to them, but a dishonour done to this nation. In case the Governments of Spain and Brazil should persist in mocking the just expectations of this country, the Committee recommend that Government should demand of Spain the immediate repayment of the £400,000, and interest thereon, paid to her in 1817, as an indemnity for all losses she might sustain by the complete abolition of the slave-trade; and, further, that Government will notify to the authorities of Spain and Brazil, that on the opening of the next session of Parliament they will be prepared to lay before the legislature a Bill for the exclusion of the slave-grown produce of Cuba and Brazil, until such time as slavery itself shall be abolished in their colonies and territories respectively. In this recommendation we trust every abolitionist throughout the three kingdoms will be prepared to join. The Committee very properly say that this proposition "is perfectly just and reasonable; that it is within the competency of Government and Parliament; and that, if it be faithfully pursued, it will accomplish the object aimed at, namely, the complete abolition of the Spanish and Brazilian slave-trade; and rescue multitudes of Africans from the degradation and sufferings of slavery, in a manner perfectly consistent with good faith, the national honour, the stipulations of treaties, the laws of Spain and Brazil, and the highest interests of humanity and freedom."

In the *Reporter* for August last, we called attention to the fact that a memorial had been forwarded from Trinidad to the Queen, in which the parties who subscribed it entreat her Majesty "to command that such steps be forthwith adopted as will best ensure the prompt suppression of the trade in slaves, and the speedy liberation of those unfortunate Africans now brought under notice as being illegally and unjustifiably held in the most cruel slavery in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil." To this document we are gratified in being able to add, that similar ones have been agreed to by the Legislative Assembly as well as the Council of Jamaica, and will probably reach England by the next mail.

The *Falmouth Post*, in commenting upon the proceedings of the House of Assembly, a condensed report of which will be found in another part of the *Reporter*, observes:—"There is no question of more vital interest to Jamaica, and her sister colonies, than that which has lately engaged the attention of both branches of our legislature. It is a question of humanity and justice—of humanity, as regards the miserable and wretched condition of hundreds of thousands of enslaved and oppressed fellow-creatures—and of justice, as regards the propriety of enforcing the solemn treaties that have been formally entered into between Great Britain and slave-trading States." The *Post* gives great praise to Mr. March, for the able manner in which he brought this subject before the Assembly; in that praise, though taking exceptions to some of his recommendations, we cordially concur:—"Mr. March proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that a vast proportion of the slaves in the colony of Cuba are entitled to their freedom—that the cruelties to which these unfortunate wretches are subjected, are horrid in the extreme—that, in consequence of those cruelties, the deaths that took place between the years 1841 and 1847, in a population of 500,000 souls, were no less than 112,000. The *Post* adds,—“If we succeed in enforcing the fulfilment of





the treaties in question, a death-blow will be given to Cuban and Brazilian slavery, thus laying the foundation for the future well-being of the now suffering British colonies."

We earnestly commend this great and vital subject to the immediate and serious attention of the legislative bodies, the planters and merchants, and the whole of the emancipated classes in all the colonies, and conjure them, if they desire the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, to unite with us in petitions to Parliament, memorials to Government, and such other wise and constitutional means as they may have it in their power to employ, to sustain and enforce similar recommendations to those contained in the memorial of the Anti-Slavery Committee to Government. We are of opinion, if this be done, if public meetings be convened and suitable resolutions be adopted, if the agents of the colonies residing in this country be instructed to carry them out, a new face will be put upon the question, and hopes may be entertained that freedom shall yet triumph over slavery, and that no produce shall be allowed to enter the British market but such as results from the honest toil of freedom. What is wanted now is unity of action, earnestness of purpose, and perseverance in pressing it upon the attention of Government and of Parliament.

We have long been impressed with the conviction, that the treatment of the immigrant African labourers in Jamaica and other colonies, was by no means such as could be approved. Taking advantage of the youth of some, and the ignorance of others, we learned from private correspondence that they were treated harshly, paid badly, and, in many instances, defrauded of their just rights. This, certainly, was to be expected; but still, we could find no official evidence of the facts; on the contrary, the reports sent home almost invariably represented them as contented with their condition, improving in their character, and, in point of fact, they were said to be the very best class of labourers imported into the colonies for the service of the planters. At length, a little light is breaking in upon the public mind on this subject; and if our readers wish to know how the African immigrants are treated by some of the planters of Jamaica, we beseech them to peruse the article in the present *Reporter*, headed:—"Inquiry concerning the alleged ill-treatment of the African immigrants in Jamaica." The facts appear to be these. A Mr. Cornford, connected with the Baptist Mission in Jamaica, had the courage, through the columns of the *Messenger*, to draw public attention to this subject, adducing certain facts, in proof of his assertion that they were treated more like slaves than freemen. In consequence of the steps taken by this gentleman, an inquiry was instituted; and no one can peruse the proceedings without indignation. Truly may we say, with Mr. Cornford, of these poor Africans, "To call them immigrants would be mockery: they are slaves; they are fed, and clothed, and flogged as SLAVES! And as slaves are they regarded by the people." True, they receive payment for their labour in cash, but these have every appearance of being regulated by the caprice of the master to whom they are apprenticed. The *maximum* payment yet made, and that—as far as can be discovered, but in one case—has been but two shillings and sixpence FOR A FORTNIGHT'S LABOUR. The *minimum* has been threepence for the same period. Truly, this is a specimen of "Industrial Education," and a fine example of the "Immigration Scheme."

The quantity of food allowed these African strangers is scarcely sufficient to keep body and soul together, much less to keep in ordinary health and strength the field-labourer. "One mackarel is divided between three persons, in addition to which they receive four plantains each." This is their usual allowance for a whole day; whereas, the prison allowance of slaves in Jamaica was "eight full-grown plantains, and one herring or shad *daily*." No wonder these half-starved creatures, when required to work, would "sit down and beat their stomachs and cry, 'hungry!'" The practices of slavery still survive its legal abolition; its spirit still lingers in the breasts of the old planters; but they must be taught a severe lesson, in order to put a necessary restraint on their cruel and oppressive propensities.

To starvation is added the lash. In reading the account of the punishments inflicted on the African immigrants, one is transported back to the days of slavery, when the will of the master was the supreme law, and the brutal punishment of the slave, short of maiming and death, was considered to be his prerogative. Here we have the fact that seven Africans were punished one morning by the overseer (Lowndes), with a "supple-jack, until it broke in

his hand." One of them "was sick from that time, and never worked again." "Tom," said the witness, "is dead now." From the evidence subsequently given, it appears that he was ill before. "Tom," said another witness, "was a poorly man. He was too poorly to be flogged;" and yet the inhuman overseer, with his own hand, scourged this poor creature in such a manner as evidently to shorten his days. In this case an inquest ought to have been held, and the party who inflicted the punishment, indicted for manslaughter. But we find that not only were the men punished in this illegal and atrocious manner, but that the women did not escape the application of the cowskin or horsewhip. The proprietor of the estate (Garrigues), seems to have taken this department of "domestic discipline" into his own hands. On one occasion, he whipped three women; one of whom, after having "been hit across her shoulders with the whip," folded her arms and gave her back to him; "AND HE FLOGGED HER TILL HE WAS SATISFIED!"

Of course we shall hear more of this case; it is impossible that the parties who figure in it so disgracefully, can be allowed to go unpunished. To us it is difficult to conceive how so flagrant a violation of the law as we have noticed could have escaped the attention of the stipendiary magistrates and the immigration agents, whose duty unquestionably it was, to protect the African immigrants from injury and oppression. The facts now brought to light furnish another argument, if such were required, against the entire scheme of African immigration into the British colonies.

A movement has for some time been going on in the Crown Colonies, the object of which has been to secure to them the advantages of local and responsible legislation. They feel that they are competent to transact their own affairs, and that the time has come when they ought no longer to be subject to the fluctuating councils of the Colonial Office, or to the crochets of individuals who from time to time become its chiefs. It would appear, from the indignant tone of the articles which have appeared in the colonial press on the subject, that Lord Grey does not consider that the people in the Crown Colonies are sufficiently educated to be entrusted with legislative powers. This is regarded as an insult; and the question is asked, why British Guiana, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, are to be ranked lower than Dominica and St. Kitts, whose population, means, and activity are so much less than their own? We confess that we entirely sympathize with the demands made by the Crown Colonies to have legislatures of their own, and think it would be greatly to the advantage of the mother country were they to be allowed to manage their own affairs. When Government condescends to argue this question with the friends of the emancipated classes, they are told, in effect, that to give the Crown Colonies representative bodies would be to place the negroes completely within the power of the dominant class; but when the question is argued with the colonists, then, forsooth, the negroes are too ignorant to be entrusted with the franchise. Now, we believe that they cannot be governed worse, in any case, than they now are; and are of opinion that it would be both safe and salutary were Government to admit the claims made on them in this behalf. As a specimen of the spirit in which the colonial press deals with this matter, we give the following quotation from the *St. Lucia Palladium*, of September 1st, premising that it is one of the mildest we could find:—

"His lordship devotes a separate despatch to the task of answering the petitioners on their complaint as to the constitution of the council. The sophistry resorted to, in order to overthrow the rightful claim of the people to constitutional government, is worthy of a Whig minister. His lordship, very complacently discarding the old approved maxim, that the principles of a free constitution are irrecoverably lost when the legislative power is nominated by the executive, tells the petitioners that the council which they have pronounced an irresponsible body, 'is responsible to her Majesty's Government, which, in its turn, is responsible to parliament,' and that it cannot be made 'responsible to the inhabitants of the colony, in the way in which representative bodies are responsible to their constituencies,' because, forsooth, his lordship 'fears it must be a long time before the negro population can form constituencies sufficiently intelligent to secure themselves a true representation in a legislative body.' Devoted as we are to the constitution of our mother country—and hating all that approaches to either despotism or republicanism—we confess, it is with heartfelt pain we read of the doctrine thus propounded by a minister of the Crown; for, we take it, the simple meaning of my Lord Grey's answer to the petitioners is this—either you must be ruled by a despotism unknown in any other portion of the wide-spread dominions of Great Britain, or you must show yourselves eligible to universal suffrage."



## JAMAICA—HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

## PROCEEDINGS IN RELATION TO THE SLAVE-TRADE.

FRIDAY, September 1, 1848.—Mr. MARCH, after some introductory remarks, moved—

"That a Committee be appointed to draw up a memorial to Her Majesty the Queen, humbly urging the claims of the British West India colonies to have the faithful execution of the engagements with slave-trading States for the suppression of the slave-trade, and requiring, for the purpose of rendering the objects of the Mixed Commission Courts more effective, that new treaties be entered into with the Brazilian and Spanish Governments, and more particularly with the Spanish Government, for investing the Mixed Commission, at the Havana, with the authority to inquire into and adjudicate the cases of slaves surreptitiously imported into Cuba, in contravention of existing treaties, and for their removal to the British colonies at their option." From circumstances which have occurred, and discussions which have lately taken place, in the mother country, I consider that no time should be lost in carrying out the object I contemplated, in laying this memorial at the foot of the throne, and impressing on her Majesty the Queen the necessity of adopting stringent and effective measures for suppressing that blot—that plague-spot—the slave-trade. Since the suppression of the slave-trade by Great Britain, engagements have been from time to time entered into between her and other powers,—among others, with Spain, Portugal, and the Brazils. The Government of the latter country, at one time, evinced every desire to repress the traffic, and succeeded in some measure; but the Brazilian people, who are favourable to the continuation of the trade, opposed their efforts, and the slave-trade was revived and carried on, and still flourishes in the Brazils with the same activity and vigour that it ever had. The average annual importation, from the year 1835 to 1840, was 65,000.—In one year of this period, there were 87,000, every facility being given to the slave-trader by the authorities. At present, there are no arrangements with the Brazils for efficiently carrying out the machinery of the treaty of 1826; difficulties have been thrown in the way, and demands made by the Brazilian Government, which induced the British minister to terminate all negotiations on the subject; but, fortunately, there still existed a declaration under that treaty, which declared the Brazilian slave-trade abolished from 1830, and all parties engaged in it guilty of piracy, and which enabled our Government to obtain a law from the British legislature, authorizing the capture of slave-trading vessels, and taking them for adjudication before the courts of Vice-Admiralty, where the vessels are condemned; but, in this law, there is no provision for dealing with the crews. Lord Palmerston, in his evidence before the Slave-trade Committee, says the Act of Parliament gives no power to a British Court to adjudicate upon Brazilian crews, or to punish them even for killing or wounding any of the British prize-crew. Here, then, we meet with one of those anomalies so frequent in British legislation, that Brazilian produce, obtained by the labour of illegally-imported slaves—by the labour of free men, illegally held in slavery—is admitted, on the same terms with the produce of the most favoured nation, into the markets of Great Britain, whose duty it is to use the most strenuous efforts for putting down the slave-trade. On the 23rd of September, 1817, a treaty was entered into between the Prince Regent, representing George III., King of Great Britain, and Ferdinand the Seventh, King of Spain, by which it was agreed, on the part of Ferdinand, "that the slave-trade should be abolished throughout the entire dominions of Spain, on the 30th of May, 1830; and, from that period, it should not be lawful for the subjects of Spain to purchase slaves, or carry on the slave-trade on any part of the coast of Africa, upon any pretext or in any manner whatever." By the 3rd article of this treaty his Britannic Majesty agreed to pay, on the 20th of February, 1818, the sum of £400,000, to such person as his Catholic Majesty should appoint, as a full compensation for all losses which were a necessary consequence of the abolition of the said traffic. Afterwards, on the 19th of December, 1817, the King of Spain, for the purpose of giving effect to that treaty, promulgated the following law or Royal Cedula:—"From this day, I prohibit all my subjects, both in the Peninsula and in America, to resort to the coasts of Africa, north of the equator, for the purchase of negroes. All the blacks bought on those coasts shall be declared free in the first seaport of my dominions at which the vessel containing them shall arrive,—that vessel shall be confiscated for my royal treasury, and the purchaser, the captain, the master, and the pilot, shall, without fail, be sentenced to ten years' confinement in some fortress of the Philippine Islands." Another section of the law forbids all his Catholic Majesty's subjects in the Peninsula, as well as in America, to trade for slaves to the coast of Africa, south of the equator, under the same penalties and restrictions as in the first article. The language of this law appears so clear that one cannot but express astonishment that its purport could have been doubted, or that there could have been any difficulty in carrying its provisions into operation; yet the Spanish authorities proposed, and the British Government admitted, a construction which restricted the Mixed Commission Courts to adjudication of cases of capture only, leaving those Africans, who could be safely landed in any Spanish port, to the doom of slavery, in its most horrid aspect—slavery on Spanish soil. Limited as the jurisdiction of the Mixed Commission Courts with Spain was made, difficulties of frequent occurrence intervened to interrupt the efficiency of their proceedings; so much so, that it was found necessary to obtain fresh declarations on the part of Spain for preventing its subjects from being concerned, and its flag from being used in the slave-trade. Accordingly, on the 28th of June, 1835, Lord Clarendon obtained from the Spanish Government another treaty, as entered into between his late Majesty, King William IV., and Christina, Queen Regent of Spain, during the minority of her daughter, Isabella Second, Queen of Spain, whereby it was agreed, "that the slave-trade should be again declared, on the part of Spain, to be totally and finally abolished in all parts of the world; and the Queen Regent, on behalf of her daughter, Queen Isabella, engaged that she would take the most effectual measures for preventing the subjects of her Catholic Majesty from being concerned, and her flag from being used for carrying on in any way the trade in slaves." One of the principal reasons for this new treaty was the situation of those Africans who had been captured by British cruisers, and located in Cuba. Lord Palmerston, before the Slave-trade Committee, in answer to a question referring to the condition of the liberated Africans in Cuba,

says, "Their condition is very bad—by the treaties, when a cargo of Africans is brought before the Mixed Commission, they are decreed their freedom; but the Government of the country engages to support them for a certain time, and to place them in a condition to be instructed in the means of gaining their livelihood. The way in which this condition has been fulfilled in both countries, but especially in Cuba, has been that those negroes have been what is called apprenticed; but, in fact, let out for a period of five years, either singly or in gangs, to particular persons, those persons paying down a certain amount at once for the advantage of the labour of those negroes during that period. When those five years have expired, they have been hired to somebody else, and the result has been that those negroes have not had the advantage which ordinary slaves have, from the interest which a definite and permanent owner has in taking care of the animal that is to work for him. They have, however, I believe, in Cuba, principally been employed not in field labour, but in work about the town of the Havana; \* \* \* though some most likely have been scattered about, and let out to owners of estates." To the next question, still on the condition of the emancipated relatively to that of the slave—he says:—"It is worse in one respect, and generally not so bad in another. It is worse, in as far as nobody has the same permanent interest in them as is the case with the slaves; but I should say, speaking from general impression, that the work upon which the bulk of them are employed, is not that severe labour which belongs to field cultivation," and he admits that it was perhaps an error that this country should have entered into engagements with a foreign State, for handing over to that State, at a considerable expense to this country, free Africans, under circumstances more unfavourable than those of the slaves; but he says, "It was an error, founded on the fulfilment of treaty engagements." Here it is clearly shown, that up to 1835, and, I believe, to 1836, that all Africans, captured and taken to Cuba, were, under the system stated by Lord Palmerston, consigned to a state admitted to be worse than even Spanish slavery—I say Spanish slavery, because it is admitted, by every one who has any knowledge of its state, to be the most barbarous, cruel, and inhuman of any on record; and that it is so, cannot be doubted, when we have the startling fact brought to our observation, that the decrease of slaves in Cuba, from 1841 to 1847, upon a population of between four and 500,000, was a decrease of upwards of 112,000. By the treaty of 1835, their destiny has been altered, and the liberated Africans are now transferred to a British colony; but what has become of those who for twenty years were handed over to the Spanish inhabitants as apprentices, and who in number cannot be less than 10,000, still remaining in a state worse than slavery? Lord Palmerston says, "He finds great difficulty in coming to any accurate calculation of their numbers, whether a few hundreds or some thousands." Where are the returns, furnished from time to time to the Foreign Office? How has it occurred that no record of the number has been kept, to enable the noble lord to come to an accurate calculation on the subject? His lordship, on re-consideration of the subject, will find that there cannot be less than 10,000, exclusive of about 2,000 who have obtained their rights through the exertions of Mr. David Turnbull. Bad as the condition of the emancipated is in Cuba, it must be equally so in the Brazils. There they are apprenticed for fourteen years, on each occasion, with the same disadvantage of having no one interested in them beyond the immediate period of their apprenticeship; and they are almost all engaged in plantation work. In 1840, Mr. Turnbull was appointed to an official situation in Cuba, and from there he called the attention of Government to the condition of the emancipated. The first case brought to his notice was that of a man named Gavino. He then states, that in 1824 the Mixed Commission Court at the Havana had pronounced the judgment which had entitled Gavino to his freedom; that under pretence of teaching him the doctrines and ceremony of the Christian faith, he was transferred for five years to a Spanish lady, in consideration of a sum of money paid by her to an officer in the service of the Spanish Government, and that Gavino, instead of religion, was taught to carry water, and had to pay his mistress one dollar per day out of his earnings; that at the end of the first five years, in consideration of a further sum again paid to an officer of the Spanish Government, the compulsory services of Gavino were prolonged for a second term of five years; that at the end of the second term, a third was entered upon, and at the end of the third, a fourth, which was then current; and claiming, on behalf of Gavino, his immediate and unconditional freedom, as guaranteed to him by the treaties. To Mr. Turnbull's application the most insulting reply was returned; but, by persevering, he not only secured freedom to Gavino, but to upwards of 2,000 emancipated besides. In 1840 Lord Palmerston opened negotiations with the Spanish Government, on the subject of a convention for giving fuller powers to the Mixed Commission Court at the Havana to investigate the cases of negroes illegally held in slavery in the island, having been imported since 30th October, 1820, and for declaring their freedom. Negotiations were carried on by Lord Palmerston respecting this convention, from 1840, until the end of 1841, when he was succeeded by Lord Aberdeen, who, after some further negotiations, abandoned it.

The hon. member here gave the Convention at length, the substance of which will be found in the memorial to Lord Palmerston, printed in the present number of the Reporter.

It is quite clear (continued the honourable member) that according to the spirit of existing treaties, and to the very letter of the Spanish law of 1817, that Great Britain was entitled to demand from the Spanish government the freedom of every African brought to the island of Cuba since the 30th October, 1820; but the British Government had pretermitted opportunities of enforcing this view for twenty years. The idea of giving the Mixed Commission Courts the power of revising titles of twenty years' standing, alarmed the Spanish Government. He failed in obtaining the convention during his administration, and his successor abandoned it. The powers of the commissioners, therefore, remain as before. Now, what has been the result, after a lapse of thirty years, of the great exertions and immense expenditure made by the British people for the suppression of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa? Encouraging; but in the Brazils and Spanish colonies the slave-trade is cherished and prosecuted with the same activity and vigour as at any period during the last thirteen years. In 1768, 97,000 were the number of slaves said to be imported into the several West Indian colonies; of these, 38,000 were taken between Portugal and Spain. The average of 97,000 was continued, with some fluctuations, to 1810. The annexed average, excluding deaths



upon the passage, were supposed to be:—From 1800 to 1819, 80,000; from 1819 to 1825, 77,200; from 1825 to 1830, 94,000; from 1830 to 1835, 58,900; from 1835 to 1840, Brazils, 65,000; Cuba, 29,000; in all, 94,000. From 1840 to 1845 the annual average was 82,600. In 1846 it amounted to 64,000. From 1825 the importations were supposed to have been made into Brazil and Cuba only, and from that year to 1830 Spain took the annual average of 40,000, and the Brazils 50,000. From 1830 to 1835, Spain took annually 40,000; Brazil, 15,000. From 1835 to 1840, Spain 29,000, and Brazil 65,000. From 1840 to 1845, Spain took 7,000 annually, and Brazil 22,000. Thus showing the importation of slaves by the Spaniards, principally into Cuba, in twenty years, of 580,000, and into the Brazils during the same period, 760,000, in defiance and breach of all treaties and laws; besides these, there were imported into Brazil, during 1846, upwards of 60,000, and into Cuba about 2,000. From this statement we may well ask what has been the result of the great exertions made by the British people? Lord Palmerston says the slave-trade has diminished. Where is the evidence? Not in these returns, if we except Cuba for one or two years; but the decrease in that island I shall presently show was not a sign of a suppression of the slave-trade, but arose from temporary causes. No one can deny the zeal that Lord Palmerston exhibited, and still appears to exhibit, on this subject. No one can deny the interest he takes, and the anxiety he appears to feel, on every occasion on which the subject is brought before him. It is, therefore, to be regretted that he should have fallen into this error, so likely to mislead him in his future course. It is evident from these returns, and from the correspondence of official persons from the Brazils, that the people of that country take as great an interest, and are as active in the prosecution of the traffic, as they ever did, or ever were. In Cuba there has been a decrease in the importations, but this has been from temporary causes. Mr. Bandinel, who has been in the Foreign Office for upwards of forty years, during thirty of which he had charge of the department connected with the suppression of the slave-trade, considers "that the slave-trade had not been diminished in Brazil, but appears to have diminished in Cuba some little, very little—he thinks that the amount imported into Brazil, in 1847, was the same as in 1846. In Cuba there was a very small diminution; the number imported into Brazil was apparently as many as they wished to have—it was restricted by nothing—our squadron does not appear to have been able to restrict the importation, and the Government protected it in every way. In respect to Cuba, the state of things was different—the Government there did not protect it; the Government, on the contrary, stopped the trade; and though there was a demand for slaves for the sugar estates, yet the coffee estates, a year or two ago, had been so entirely ruined, that there were, in 1815, upwards of 100,000 negroes transferred from the coffee estates to whatever other purpose they were wanted for, and a portion of those was transferred to the sugar estates—to those two causes he attributes the diminution in Cuba—nearly the cessation of the import of slaves there. A little previously there had been other causes, a depression in the sugar trade, a hurricane, and a feeling of danger in the further introduction of negroes." It must be observed, from this evidence, that the suppression of the slave-trade in Cuba is only temporary, and may be revived at any time at which the demand may increase, or the Government cease to oppose it. It appears to be the general opinion that if we have the Governments of slave-holding states with us, the trade may be suppressed; but this does not appear to be the opinion of Mr. Bandinel, who seems to think, and he is certainly borne out by the occurrences in Brazil, that it is necessary to have both the Government and the people with us, in order effectually to put a stop to the trade. The people of Cuba desire the suppression of the trade, and if it had not been connived at, and supported by the government officers, it would have ceased in that island. We must, therefore, attribute the temporary obstruction given to the trade, in 1846 and 1847, by the Governor-General of Cuba, to other causes than the desire to suppress it. It has been stated, but with what truth I do not know, that the Governor-General sometimes protects, and at other times opposes those concerned in the traffic. Whatever may be his object, it is quite evident he is not sincere, because the traffic still exists. It may be that he sometimes acts hostilely, for the purpose of covering his affording protection to the trade in general. At all events, it will be unwise on our part to cease in our vigilance, or to put faith in his acts. In 1842, when the attention of the British minister was called to the want of faith on the part of the Spanish Government, in respect to the slave-trade treaties, and representations were made to the Spanish Government, General Valdez was sent as Governor of Cuba, with instructions to act faithfully in respect to the treaties—and he succeeded in calming the fears of the British ministry on that point; but as soon as this was effected, he was recalled, and General O'Donnell sent to replace him, and under him the trade revived. Frequent complaints have been since made against General O'Donnell on this head, and probably his conduct in 1846 was intended for the same end as the sending of General Valdez in 1842. On perusing the correspondence between the British and Spanish authorities, one is immediately struck by the cunning, and want of faith and sincerity on the part of the Spaniards, and the credulity and apathy of the British official. We find the constant complaints of the faithless manner in which the Spanish authorities carry out the treaty, and a simple denial, or almost illusory explanation received as satisfactory. In 1845, complaints of this kind were made by the British commissioners in Cuba against General O'Donnell. We find, by the returns from the commissioners, that slaves to a considerable number had been introduced into Cuba, and yet we find Lord Aberdeen instructing Mr. Bulwer, on the 11th December, 1845, to communicate to the Spanish Minister, M. Martinez de la Rosa, the satisfaction of her Majesty's Government on learning the conduct of the Spanish Government at Cuba, with respect to the faithful execution of its engagements with Great Britain, for the suppression of the slave-trade. This compliment might have been paid to the Spanish minister for his avowed determination against the trade, but certainly not in respect to the Governor-General of Cuba, against whom, and whose officers, complaints were repeatedly made, in 1845, by the British Commissioner, and under whose government slaves were at that moment introduced into Cuba. Whatever may be alleged to the contrary, we have the undeniable fact, that the slave-trade, as regards Cuba and the Brazils, exists in the one in full force and activity; in the other, though abated for a time from temporary causes, ready to spring up with renewed vigour whenever the demand may increase.—The de-

mand must increase, from the conduct of the British ministry; from the new impetus given to sugar cultivation in those countries, by the policy of the Sugar Bill of 1846, the demand must exist; and we find that the efforts of thirty years have been unable to suppress it. Another cause of its prolonged existence is the receipt, by the officials of Cuba, of a sum of money on each slave imported. So long as this is permitted, the trade will be fostered and encouraged by those who profit by it.—Had the treaties been rigidly enforced, and the same system of management persevered in, in Cuba, they would by this time have been without a slave, or at all events with very few. Lord Palmerston makes a distinction. He says, by law, piracy, which consists in slave-trading, is punishable with transportation—that crime which is called piracy by the laws of nations is punishable with death; that is the distinction. By the treaty of 1826, with Brazil, after the expiration of three years, Brazilians concerned in the slave-trade are deemed and treated as pirates, but there is no Brazilian law to meet this case. Mr. Bandinel says, on the other hand, in regard to general treaties, there is a penalty attached to the violation of that, as there is to the violation of every other engagement. The penalty to the breaking of treaties is war; but we have not followed it usually by war. For what purpose did the British people pay to the Spaniards £400,000?—for what purpose do they annually pay large sums of money?—for what purpose are so many naval and military men sacrificed by exposure to a death-dealing climate?—for what are treaties made?—why should there be a distinction between slave treaties and other treaties?—why should there be a distinction between piracy in stealing a bale of goods, and piracy in stealing a human being?—and, in either case, why should that distinction be against the African, unless where our own interest and honour have been concerned? When the interests of humanity alone generally have been concerned, and the treaty has been broken, we have not followed up the infraction so readily as in other cases by war. Why is this? The people of Great Britain have paid for the suppression of the trade, they have taken up the cause of humanity, and it is their duty to persevere in their endeavours to put down the slave-trade. It will be disgraceful, after such sacrifices have been made, and we have earned the character which we have earned in that cause, now to abandon our course for any paltry calculations of saving. Mr. Bandinel says, he thinks the time has arrived at which it is desirable to consider whether any means, whether of force in addition to those that have been used, and gentler means in addition to force, or gentler means instead of force, should be used; therefore, that something of the kind should be done, since at this present time, with all our efforts, we have been unsuccessful in producing a suppression of the slave-trade, on the part of those powers, who were the very first with whom we contracted treaties for its suppression; and he thinks also that the question of the slave-trade in the west must be separated from the slave-trade in the east, and that it must be cured on the spot where it ends; and he goes on to say—"I would rely, so far as I can see from the collection of facts, upon interest, and in that respect upon gentler means, so far as gentler means might affect the interest of the state." I think myself that many means must be used, and that all means must be used; and I think that you cannot, from the experience which you have, conclude that one means alone, or at one time, can be taken for the suppression of the slave-trade. I think, also, that you must separate the question of the slave-trade in the west from the slave-trade in the east—that the slave-trade must be cured in the spot where the slave-trading ends. I was struck with a forcible expression of Mr. Burke in that respect, that he was convinced that the true origin of the slave-trade was not in the place where it began, but in the place of its final destination. I think that this observation was just. I think, therefore, that the extinction of the slave-trade of Cuba and Brazil, which you would, perhaps, first more especially aim at, because it may be compassed within a comparatively small space of time, should be separated from that of Africa, and that they should both be treated distinctly. I think that the slave-trade of Cuba and of Brazil is to be cured in Cuba and Brazil, by measures with those two Governments. \* \* \*

I do not think that it will become Great Britain to relax in the least, either in regard to the slave-trade of Africa, in being foremost in her efforts to extinguish them both. I think, that we are bound to exert those efforts by every principle; by the principle of the retribution which we owe to those people, from having been the foremost at one time in creating the cruelties which they suffered, and that from a very base and narrow motive, not even the larger motive that the slaveholders had, of benefiting by the labour of the slaves. We bought them in Africa, and we took and threw them out, to be treated as any person might like. I think, that there is a retribution which we owe to them; and I think also, that we owe it to every principle of humanity; we owe it to every principle of honour; we owe it to what we have done, and have been able to do; we owe it also to the general feeling of this country; we owe it to the character which we hold among the nations of the world to be still foremost in endeavouring to extinguish the trade, and we should do what is practicable. I think we should try with the governments of Brazil and of Cuba for it, I think we have been successful in repressing the trade of Cuba and Brazil, only when the governments of Brazil and Cuba have gone along with us. I think, if you look from beginning to end, you will find that the bearing of this question on the interests of the British colonies is too palpable to be denied. Mr. Bandinel, in his evidence before the Slave Committee, observes—"I certainly cannot help mentioning to the committee that there are many measures which must be considered as necessary towards the extinguishing of the slave-trade; but a collateral one is certainly the prosperity of the West Indies. I do not mean the narrow view of the prosperity of the English proprietors of West Indian sugar estates, but I mean the general healthy and wealthy state and welfare of the West Indian colonies. Such a prosperity would be the means, certainly, of inducing the governments of Brazil and Cuba to enter into the stipulations which you wish them to enter into with good faith, and it will be one ground for inducing the people in those countries to go along with the government in keeping good faith on that subject, because all the civilized states holding slaves are watching narrowly the conduct of Great Britain respecting the colonies, and its results; and they fashion their conduct accordingly. \* \* \*

\* \* \* All parties concerned in slaves look with anxiety to the success of the grand experiment, as they term it; and those who point at Great Britain as a warning have hitherto been successful in staving off measures in those countries for putting down the slave-trade, and leading



towards emancipation. It is therefore most essential, even for the one object of suppressing the slave-trade and slavery, that Great Britain should, whatever the difficulties may be, neither omit, neglect, nor delay any means within her power for fostering the prosperity of her West Indian colonies. That prosperity will be one of the greatest inducements which can be offered to other states to put down the slave-trade, and to their governments to fulfil the compacts to that effect, and to the governments and people of those countries to go along with other governments in that line. As a part of the British empire, we are entitled to have the slave treaties faithfully fulfilled; we are entitled to call upon government to use every means in their power for that purpose, and if all other means are unsuccessful, to resort to force.—That force is not foreign to the views of our government, is evinced by the fact that there exists at the present moment a treaty between France and England, by which England is bound to have recourse to force. I have been asked what benefit I expected to result from this memorial. I have been told we shall gain no credit for the humanity of our motives, and that interest alone has moved us to this step. In bringing this question to the notice of the government, we have done our duty; let the responsibility of the result be upon those whose duty it is to act; whether we gain credit for philanthropy or not, is of little importance.

Dr. SPALDING did not rise to oppose the motion, but in the course of his remarks quoted certain resolutions which had been passed in Jamaica in 1844, against the introduction of slave-grown produce into the British markets, in which, among other things, it was declared that, "if slavery and the slave-trade had been abolished, because they had been regarded as sinful, a people may as consistently again become slave-traders and slave-holders, as to abet and encourage other nations in extending slavery and the slave-trade."

Mr. JORDON said the question was not what the Government had done in respect to the sugar duties, but whether the house would agree to the question which was before it or not, and whether they were not called on to do all they could under present circumstances to induce the Government to enforce the treaties which they had entered into with foreign states for the abolition of the slave-trade. It could not be denied that this and all the other West Indian islands had been injured by the continuation by other states of that trade; and therefore, if those who had been paid for carrying out their treaties, in spite of the liberality of the British Government, and in violation of good faith, continue to infringe them, it was our duty to call upon the British Government to put an end to that infernal and nefarious traffic. All that we had to consider was whether we should aid the other colonies in the representations which they were sending to Government on the subject. Trinidad has already sent a memorial—and he thought that we, who are the first colony in the West Indies, ought to be the first to assist Trinidad, and thus induce every other colony to do the same, but not to allow ourselves to be influenced by what may be the results to the inhabitants of Cuba. He could not help thinking that we were probably doing them good service in this matter, for they may probably soon find they have carried on that trade a little too long—they may, one of these days, find the negroes ready to maintain their rights as freemen, and that the scenes may soon take place among them that had already been witnessed in the neighbouring islands.

Mr. FINLAY would more especially support the motion, when he knew from his own knowledge, and what he had seen in Cuba when he was there, that it was perfectly true that the slave-trade was openly connived at by the Spanish officials, from the Governor downward, on account of the emoluments they received thereby. The hon. gentleman then proceeded to say, that when the officers of a country are so debased as to take bribes in the face of the world, to allow the laws of their sovereign and of their country to be openly violated, they would be called upon in vain to preserve their treaties inviolate, unless some very stringent measures were adopted. Seeing and knowing as he did the state of things in Cuba, he declared it was impossible to stop the importation of slaves in that island, if even the government of Spain were sincere in putting an end to it.

The motion was then agreed to, and Messrs. March, Spalding, Finlay, Jordon, Bristowe, W. W. Anderson, and Farquharson, were appointed a committee to prepare the memorial.

#### INQUIRY CONCERNING THE ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF THE AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN JAMAICA.

TREADWAY'S ESTATE, ST. THOMAS IN THE VALE.

In consequence of the appearance of a letter in the *Messenger* newspaper, from the Rev. P. H. Cornford, detailing the atrocious conduct of the parties referred to in the evidence given below, the Governor took the necessary steps for instituting an inquiry, the result of which has been the entire confirmation of his statements, and the revelation of facts which, if they do not prove the existence of slavery in Jamaica, go far to show that many of its concomitants are connected with the present plans of immigration.

On Wednesday, August 30th, T. W. JACKSON, Esq., Stipendiary Magistrate, held a court of inquiry, by arrangement, in the Boiling-house of the above Estate, for the purpose of examining into the truth of the complaints which have been made to His Excellency the Governor, respecting the ill-treatment of certain African immigrants residing there.

The first witness being sworn, deposed:—"My name is George Dalhouse. I was employed by Mr. Lowndes, after the arrival of the Africans, to accompany them to the field, and show them how to work. Mr. Lowndes told me I must make the people work sharp; and if they would not work, I must switch them; but not flog them badly; only enough to make them afraid of me, and so I did. (Witness then gave an account of the different occasions, and the manner in which he had struck some of the people.) During the time I was with them I saw Mr. Garrigues, on one morning, flog seven of them with a supple-jack, until the supple-jack broke in his hand. One of the seven, named 'Tom,' was beaten till blood came. I saw the blood upon his back. He fell

upon a bank in trying to get away, and sprained his ankle. The next day his leg was swelled. He was sick from that time, and never worked again. 'Tom' is dead now.

"On the first Thursday in August, the African woman, named 'Margaret,' came about eight o'clock in the morning, into Mrs. Bailey's yard, where I was; she was crying; she called to my wife, and said, 'come here.' My wife then went out with her. When she returned, I asked her what was the matter; she told me to go into the Savannah and see what a flogging 'Lucy' had got. When I went down, I saw the three crying together, 'Emily,' 'Lucy,' and 'Margaret.' I asked them what was the matter? Lucy then showed me her back, and I counted six wheals. She said Mr. Garrigues did it. I did not see if the others were marked."

The witness was afterwards cross-examined at great length; but without any result which could shake his testimony, of the chief parts of which the above is a brief summary.

Richard Mighty was next sworn. His evidence was to the following effect:—"I was employed by Mr. Lowndes to follow the Africans in the field. I remember the first week in August. The three negro women, Lucy, Emily, and Margaret, were sent by Mr. Garrigues to fetch plants. They were very unwilling to go; but they did go, the first time. The next morning Mr. Garrigues sent them back to the same work, but they would not go. When Mr. Garrigues heard that they would not go, he came out of the house with his riding-whip in his hand. He first met Emily, and hit her three times across the back, when she ran away. Then he came to Margaret, and hit her the same. After that, he came to Lucy and asked her why she did not go and fetch the plants. She shook her head, and said 'No.' He then hit her across her shoulders with the whip. She folded her arms, and gave her back to him. He said, 'Now you give me your back, I will give it you, too!' And he flogged her till he was satisfied. After the flogging they all went away, but they came back again on the Saturday morning.

"I see when they have their allowance. They do not have enough. When I want them to work in the field they will sit down, and beat their stomachs, and say 'hungry!' One mackarel serves three persons, and they have four plantains each, and nothing else. That is for a whole day, for supper, and breakfast. Sometimes Mr. Lowndes gives them something, FOR ENCOURAGEMENT, if they work well. Sometimes they have a little sugar. Sometimes they have two heads of corn. If there is no bread-kind, they receive about a quart of corn-meal and a quart of rice, to last them for the day, for three persons. They never have the corn-meal and rice with the bread-kind. I never saw any given them. Sometimes a little English flour is mixed in with the corn-meal.

"I heard Mr. Lowndes say, in his house, that if the people should talk about the flogging of the African people, without occasion, he would turn them off the property, if it was even his own house-servants."

Cross-examined. "I remember Good-Friday. The day after Good-Friday, some of the African people said, 'As it was their day, and there was no money for them to go on to Linstead, they would sooner work than to sit down.' Three of the Congo men did not agree to go to work, and Mr. Garrigues beat them with a supple-jack. Two of them had ragged shirts on their backs, and when the supple-jack caught Robert's shoulder the blood gushed out, and on the other man it broke the skin. I did not mean to say the blood 'SPURTED OUT' in a stream. I saw when Mr. Garrigues beat the seven persons at one time. I was at a little distance off, under the mango tree. Mr. Garrigues began at the first row. I believe 'Tom' was on the first row. I am not sure he was on the first row, but I am sure he was flogged. When I came up I saw the blood on his back. Can't say if Tom ever worked after that; I did not see him at work again. Tom was a poorly man. He was too poorly to be flogged. He died last Thursday week." (The witness was repeatedly cross-questioned respecting the riding-whip, with which the three women and the three men were beaten. He first stated that it was a 'cowskin'; but after having been told that the 'cowskin' was the 'long whip' with which cattle were driven, he first said that it was a 'riding-whip'; then, that it was not painted red or blue, but was of a 'whitish' colour; and then, that it had a handle to it. So that, from the evidence, it was not clearly ascertained whether or not it was a 'cowskin'.)

John Garcier was next sworn. "I was employed by Mr. Lowndes, in Kingston, to bring a party of Africans to this estate. It was in the month of August. In the evening, after they arrived, Mr. Lowndes told me to tell them that 'to-morrow they must work; and if they no work, fum-fum plenty.' He brought a horse-whip in his hand from the house to show them; and told me I must tell them to 'ask the others who were there before.' And one of the others told them, 'You work for massa good!—no work, massa fum-fum plenty.' Then they all began to cry, and told me, 'I made them fool, because I told them the parish was good.' The others answered, 'The same way they make them fool, for they say the parish was good, and, same time, they get nothing to eat.' The people cried through the night till morning. The time when they were singing was not because they had changed their mind, but because a miss from the house said, if they would sing 'their country,' she would pay them."



John Bailey being sworn, stated, that "Mr. Lowndes had complained to him about his wife; that he had been told she had said, that if the people were flogged any more, she (Mrs. Bailey) would carry him (Mr. Lowndes) to the Governor. Mr. Lowndes said that my wife must sit down in the negro-house easy, and not have anything to do with 'his people.' When I went back I ordered my wife out of the yard where the Africans are. I did not hear Mr. Lowndes say that he would turn the people off the property if they talked about it."

Joseph Morrell deposed that on the evening of the 3rd of August (Thursday), he had met the three women near to the gate at Jericho, and that one of them (identified in the company, and pointed out as 'Lucy') showed him her back, and complained by signs, as well as in language he could not well understand, of having been flogged. He saw a number of wheals on her back. They were such swellings as a whip would make. He saw them again at Jericho on the following Sunday, with a great many people about them, and they were showing the little measures that their corn-meal was measured out to them with.

It was now late in the afternoon, and the inquiry was adjourned to the next morning; when it was resumed at about ten o'clock.

George Dalhouse recalled, and sworn. On the first Sabbath in August, that is, the Sabbath after the three women were flogged on the Thursday, I saw them at Jericho. I saw the marks on Lucy's back at the time. A great many people were there at the time, and I looked over and I saw them. On the Thursday that they had their flogging, after I had seen them in the Savannah, I met Mr. Lowndes and Mr. Garrigues walking together and looking for the African women. Mr. Garrigues had a riding-whip in his hand. It was a "cow-skin" riding-whip. It was what he always rides with. (After repeated questionings, this witness said he called it a "tiger-plat," it was a gentleman's riding-whip, &c., but failed to make it clear that it was "cow-skin." He also gave evidence as to the insufficiency of the food given during his continuance with the people.)

Frances Dalhouse (wife of the former witness) being sworn, deposed to the insufficiency of food, and the dissatisfaction of the people with it. She was afterwards sworn as an interpreter for the Africans called Naggoes. Other persons acted as interpreters for the Congoes. Several of the Africans were then examined one after another. They detailed several cases of flogging, some by Mr. Garrigues, the book-keeper, and some by Mr. Lowndes. One was very earnest in repeatedly showing marks on his shoulder and back, which he asserted were occasioned by flogging. Some of them had saved their allowance of food from the previous night to show Mr. Jackson, the magistrate, and all, who could be examined, declared its insufficiency.

In the course of the examinations, of which the above is but a meagre outline, Mr. Lowndes elicited by his questions the following statements:—That generally it would take two Africans to do the work of one Creole labourer, for a considerable period after their arrival:—that nearly one-half of the fifty immigrants he had taken, could do literally next to nothing:—that he had stated to his ranger (or driver), Richard Mighty, that he could pay his wages out of the Africans' labour:—that he had stated, he had paid ten dollars a-head for the people as his apprentices:—and that he provided for them medical attendance, and gave them sugar to make "hot water" with, when they were sick. It was also stated upon oath that the payments the people had received for two weeks' labour had varied from two shillings as the highest, to threepence as the lowest, compensation. Three out of the first party of twenty-five Africans, who came about February or March, had died. Mr. Lowndes stated that there was no direct agreement, and that there were no indentures! He intended that they should receive ninepence per day; food, &c., to be deducted therefrom. What constituted a day's labour could not be exactly shown; but it was to be "reckoned by quantity" performed, and not by time. "One shilling might be more under some circumstances, and less in others!" The person who gave decision upon this matter was the employer himself.

#### FREE-SOIL CONVENTION AT BUFFALO, (U. S.)

This deeply important Convention was held at Buffalo, on August the 9th, and two following days. The excitement it occasioned was intense, and the enthusiasm with which the various addresses were received, by an assemblage of upwards of 50,000 auditors, stamp it as one of the most triumphant meetings ever held in connexion with the anti-slavery cause. Prior to the regular organization of the Convention, some preliminary addresses were delivered of a stirring character. Our space will only allow us to select from the proceedings such parts as we deem to be most interesting, and those in a very condensed form.

Mr. EARLE, of Worcester, Massachusetts, opened the meeting; after which,

Judge NYE, of Madison County, was called for, amidst the greatest applause. He said:—This Convention must be a self-sacrificing Convention. A crisis has arrived when old prejudices have got to be laid aside—sacrificed upon the altar of our common country's good. He had come here to lay down all his former predilections upon this altar

—to strike hands even with those against whom he had previously battled. We mingle here with representatives from Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Michigan, thank God. Here they stood, representatives from the fair fields of the West—an empire in itself, from which slavery had been blotted out by a resolution drawn by the great man of our independence. Slavery had been excluded, and now the West had become the rich granary of the world. He had come on with representatives from New Jersey—that battle-field of the Revolution. And Pennsylvania, too, that glorious old keystone of the Union, is here—firm and true as steel—who cherishes in her bosom the patriot Wilmot. God raised up a David of old to slay the giant of Gath. So hath David Wilmot, with the sling of freedom and the smooth stone of truth, struck the giant, Slavery, between the eyes—he reels—let us push him over! Massachusetts is here—and it is fitting she should be. A son of John Quincy Adams is here among her delegates. There was Samuel Adams, first among the statesmen of the revolution, and he rejoiced that Charles Francis Adams was in the front ranks of this great moral revolution.

He hailed this time as a glorious era. He liked this agitation. It was an augury of better things to come. He liked this mingling of heretofore discordant elements—drawn together by the great sympathetic cord of freedom. Vermont, New Hampshire, Missouri, and Delaware, are here. And he was told that Maryland was here, and it was a fact of deeply momentous importance, when in the South they begin to talk of the evils of slavery. Virginia, "the mother of Presidents," was here. The feeling is extending, expanding, not only at the North, but at the South.

If we are wrong on the tariff, it can be righted in twelve hours. If we are wrong on banks, it can be righted by legislation. But if we are wrong on the subject of slavery, it can never be righted. It will reach down to posterity, inflicting curses and misery upon generations yet to come. Let, then, no preferences for men distract our councils. Let all meet upon a common platform, to accomplish a great, a noble purpose.

Mr. HUSBANDS, of Rochester, took the stand, and informed the audience that he was one who had had his head taken off politically in '44, for maintaining the principles which they are now assembled to advocate:—He had stood by the side of Judge Nye, and had been decapitated with him. His heart was in this Convention, and he was glad to see the respectable portion of all parties. And why was this? Why did he see Frederick Douglass here? (Three cheers for Douglass.) Why did he see the Whig party here, the respectable portion of it? And why did he see the Democracy here in their strength? Because they were all determined to curb and bridle, and drive back and overthrow, the proud and aggressive slave power, and he trusted that the people would now unite, and shoulder to shoulder, fight in firm array till they should triumph.

Mr. STANTON was then called for—He said, the motto of the Convention should be that of the French Republic, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." (Cheers.) They had come up to contend against a movement, on the part of the slave interest, to extend that cursed institution which takes the image of Almighty God on the immortal soul, and blots it therefrom by legislation, and stamps in its place, by legal enactment, the name of brute, beast, and property; that that institution, now struggling for existence on its own soil, shall be extended to territories where the lower morality and feeble republicanism of Mexico has abolished it. This is the issue which the South tenders to this country at the noonday of the nineteenth century. Waiving all my peculiar views, I am for joining issue with the South on that great cause. I am for trying it this year before the American people, and I am for getting a verdict and entering up judgment, taking out an execution and levying on the slave power, and taking possession of it, and hanging it up between the heavens and the earth, where the winds of execration shall whistle through it. In order to fight this battle successfully, we must be united. Mr. S. continued by declaring that he was ready to go for anybody in favour of the free-soil movement, and against anybody that is opposed to it.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE CONVENTION.

Judge STEVENS, of Indiana, called the meeting to order, and proposed Nathaniel Sawyer, of Ohio, as Chairman.—Carried.

Hon. PRESTON KING offered the following resolutions for the consideration of the meeting. The resolutions generally, as well as a plan for the permanent organization of the Conference, were drafted by the collective members of the different States:—

Resolved—That it is the duty of the federal Government to relieve itself of all responsibility for the extension or continuance of slavery, wherever that Government possesses constitutional authority, and is responsible for its existence.

Resolved—That the States, within which slavery exists, are alone responsible for the continuance or existence of slavery within such States, and the federal Government has neither responsibility nor constitutional authority to establish or regulate slavery within the States.

Resolved—That the true, and, in the judgment of this Convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an Act of Congress.



The Committee of Organization having unanimously recommended Charles F. Adams, of Massachusetts, for President of the Convention, he was unanimously elected, and took his seat amidst the most vociferous cheering.

At the request of the President, the Rev. Mr. TUCKER opened the proceedings with an impressive prayer.

Mr. ADAMS then made his opening speech. After referring to the great principle they were that day met to carry out, he said:—

I have been told, fellow-citizens, by those who do not sympathize in this glorious movement, that the Wilmot Proviso is, after all, nothing but an abstraction (Laughter). Well, to a certain extent, I am willing to admit that it is an abstraction. I am willing to say what it is not. It is not bread and butter. It is not roast beef and two dollars a day (Laughter). It is not a nice provision under Government as a reward for party services. No; the Wilmot Proviso rises above all these considerations. It is an abstraction, to be sure, and so was Magna Charta an abstraction. And so was the declaration of independence an abstraction (Yes, yes. That's it. There you have 'em). So is the idea of right, and justice, and the truth of God, an abstraction. And it is these abstractions that raise mankind above the brutes that perish (Yes, yes. That's the fact. Go it). It is these abstractions that raise a people and carry them on to glory for ever. And, fellow-citizens, it is around these abstractions that we now rally, in order to place our Government on a proper basis, which it has deserted.

Fellow-citizens, I firmly believe the world is about to know, whether we are the devoted sons of liberty, or whether we are going to give up the whole of this great western continent to the rule of those who do not acknowledge our principles, but denounce them. Fellow-citizens, we are obliged, under a necessity which we cannot resist, to denounce the organizations of the old parties as no longer worthy of the confidence of a free people (applause). They have met, and they have shown by their action that they have no system of policy, excepting that which consists in fighting with each other, in the endeavour to get place as the prize of the struggle (That's it, you hit 'em there). They are united, however, in one thing, and that is, to put down the principle of liberty which is rising in this continent. Fellow-citizens, we know the result of these bodies, and now that we have seen and understood what it is that they are contending for, let us go forward and show our fellow-citizens what a different spectacle is exhibited by those who, looking first upon a solemn principle, are agreed upon that, and then turning their shoulders to the wheel, see how it should be carried out (cheers). And, fellow-citizens, we claim to be of those, who, although they may desire to command success, yet do not mean to forget that, in the event of success, they mean to carry their principles with them (great applause).

The remainder of the day was occupied with business matters, with the addition of speeches from Messrs. Gidding and Culver.

#### SECOND DAY.

The meeting having been opened by prayer—

Mr. BRIGGS, of Ohio, could promise, that whoever was the object of their choice, Ohio would rise up from lake to rivers and greet the selection with 20,000 majority.

HIRAM CUMINGS, of Massachusetts, would state a single significant fact, to show the public feeling in that State. In Worcester, out of the 1,600 votes, 950 were upon the free-soil pledge. At Lowell, which you know is ruled by her corporations, the mass were uniting and concentrating, and he did not know but that they would take cotton bags and all, and concentrate them to this free-soil movement.

Mr. BIRKSHIRE, of Virginia, would say that Virginia, at this moment, was alive with barnburners. He had come here to have his say in what might be said here to-day. He came up with his hands untied—free to go for any man who should be nominated by this Convention.

Judge NYE said his heart overflowed at the sublime spectacle presented to his view yesterday, and this feeling was increasing. He proceeded to condemn, in the strongest terms, any who should attempt, or countenance in any form or manner, a dissolution of the Union.

After speeches by various representatives, the President announced that Mr. BUTLER, of New York, Chairman of the Committee on resolutions, would now read the report of the Committee. Mr. Butler said that they were *unanimous* in their expressions. (Enthusiastic cheers followed this statement.) They were as follows:—

Whereas, we have assembled in convention as a union of freemen, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all past political differences in a common resolve to maintain the rights of free-labour against the aggressions of the slave power, and to free-soil for a free people:

And whereas, the political conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia—the one stifling the voice of a great constituency, entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability—have dissolved the national party organization heretofore existing, by nominating for the chief magistracy of the United States, under slaveholding dictation, candidates, neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension, without a sacrifice of consistency, duty, and self-respect:

And whereas, these nominations so made furnish the occasion, and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people, under the banner of free democracy, in a solemn and final declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the federal Government from its control:

Resolved, therefore, that we, the people, here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first declaration of independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavours to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

Resolved—That slavery, in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence, depends upon State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the federal Government, and for which laws that Government is not responsible. We, therefore, propose no interference by Congress with slavery, within the limits of any State.

Resolved—That this proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of slavery, after 1800, in all the territories of the United States, southern and northern; the votes of sixteen delegates in the Congress of 1784, for the proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the north-western territory, by the ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress; and the entire history of that period, clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation, not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the Government ought to return.

Resolved—That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States, in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly denied to the federal Government, which they created, all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due legal process.

Resolved—That in the judgment of this Convention, Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery, than to institute or establish a monarchy:—no such power can be found among those specially conferred by the constitution, or derived by any just implication from them.

Resolved—That it is the duty of the federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery, wherever the Government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence.

Resolved—That the true, and, in the judgment of this Convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an act of Congress.

Resolved—That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave States and slave territories our calm, but final answer is—No more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domain be ever kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land, and the oppressed and banished of other lands, seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New World.

Resolved—That the Bill, lately reported by the Committee of eight, in the Senate of the United States, was no compromise, but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slaveholder, of all the States; and while we rejoice to know that a measure, which, while opening the door for the introduction of slavery into territories now free, would also have opened the door to litigation and strife among the future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the House of Representatives; its passage, in hot haste, by a majority of the Senate, embracing several senators who voted in open violation of the known will of their constituents, should warn the people to see to it, that their representatives be not suffered to betray them. There must be no compromises with slavery; if made, they must be repealed.

Resolved—That we demand freedom and established institutions for our brethren in Oregon, now exposed to hardship, peril, and massacre, by the reckless hostility of the slave power to the establishment of free Government for free territories; and not only for them, but for our new brethren in New Mexico and California.

And whereas it is due, not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should declare ourselves on certain other questions of national policy, therefore—

Resolved—That we demand cheap postage for the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the federal Government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries, and the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the Government, so far as the same may be practicable. \* \* \*

Resolved—That we inscribe on our banner, "Free soil, free speech, free labour, and free men," and under it will fight on, and fight over, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

As soon as Mr. Butler had concluded, Mr. J. R. Gidding rose and moved, that the report and resolutions, just read, be unanimously adopted by this Convention. He appealed to his friends, for the love of God, for the sake of the country, and for the sake of the slave, to accept these



resolutions; and here, on the spot, to enter into a holy and indissoluble league and covenant with the friends of Van Buren, and all the friends of free soil.

The PRESIDENT stated the motion, and put the question to the Convention. The response was a deafening, "aye," which burst forth with entire unanimity from the throats of twenty thousand men.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS having been called upon, said, that having recently had an operation performed on his throat, he was unable to do more than to say—God speed you in your noble undertaking.

After several earnest addresses—

Mr. HENRY BIBB, an emancipated slave, took the platform. He said, he had come to the meeting with great fears, great distrust, great jealousy, and fearful apprehensions. He was influenced by those feelings, because he considered his rights were at stake by the course which it would pursue in reference to the great question which had brought them together. He had been a slave in several States of the Union. He was a native of Kentucky, but had also been a slave in Louisiana, and among the Cherokee Indians. He knew Lewis Cass, personally. He had become acquainted with him in Michigan. In that State, when he had lately attempted to register his vote, he found to his astonishment that it would not be accepted. On going up to the ballot-box, he was told that a slave had not the right of suffrage in that State. He asked them why they did not accept his vote, and they replied, that his hair was too curly. (Shame.) He resolved to get up a petition on the subject, which he took, but the General refused to sign it. A gentleman here asked Mr. Bibb where he had been so liberally educated. Mr. Bibb replied, that he had only been at school two weeks in the whole course of his life, which had been at Detroit, and that any education he had obtained, had been "dug out" at night, in a chimney corner and elsewhere, by his own perseverance. (Tremendous cheering.)

GENERAL JAMES PAYNE said that Wisconsin would second the good work in which they were all engaged with zeal and energy. An adjournment then took place.

The Committee of Conference met in the evening to announce the nominations.

Previous to so doing, Mr. Butler, of New York, read a letter from Mr. Van Buren, requesting, in case of need, that his name should be withdrawn, if, by so doing, perfect agreement could be attained.

The Convention then proceeded to an informal ballot for President, which resulted in twenty-two majority for Mr. Van Buren as follows:—

Martin Van Buren, of New York .....	244
John P. Hale, of New Hampshire .....	181
Scattering .....	41

Majority for Van Buren ..... 22

Martin Van Buren was then unanimously nominated as the Candidate of the Free-soil Convention for President of the United States.

When the result was known, Mr. Joshua Leavett made an eloquent speech, and moved the unanimous nomination of Mr. Van Buren; which was seconded by Mr. Lewis, of Ohio, and adopted by acclamation. The cheering at this moment was terrific. Charles F. Adams, son of Quincy Adams, was subsequently elected for Vice-President.

It was then moved, that a Committee be appointed to request Martin Van Buren and C. F. Adams to become the candidates of the Convention.

Mr. BUTLER then moved a resolution in favour of the conduct of John P. Hale, after which this memorable Convention separated.

## Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—THE GOVERNOR AND THE LEGISLATURE.—Another attempt has been made by the members of the legislature to procure from Sir C. Grey the evidence upon which he grounded his opinion, that some of the inhabitants of the island were anxious for the restoration of slavery. In the report, which we publish to-day, of the proceedings on Thursday and Friday last, in the House of Assembly, will be found the copy of an address which was presented to his Excellency, by a committee appointed for that purpose, together with the reply that was given to it. Sir Charles Grey denies having accused the inhabitants of "an inclination to attempt the restoration of slavery itself;" but intimates his belief, that it was the desire of many "to obtain some of those gradations, or intermediate conditions, which, of late, it has been publicly and frequently said, were imprudently passed over, *per saltum*, by the act of emancipation." And this belief, it seems, has been brought about by a "very extensive and multifarious mass of information," of which he "was the recipient from a great many different sources." But Sir Charles Grey will not satisfy the representatives of the land by placing at their disposal the evidence in his possession; because the publication of it would add, in his opinion, "to the distractions of the inhabitants, and swell the notes, already too vehement, of political discussion and invective." He has, however, no objection to acquaint them, that "three plans have recently been mentioned, to which his own sentiments and opinions are averse;" and these plans contemplate, "1st.—Under the name and semblance of laws against vagrancy—an offence which can scarcely be said to occur amongst the

creole negroes—some restrictions as to their removal or change of residence, which would make a supply of labour attainable upon more easy and convenient terms. 2nd.—The establishment of a system of compulsory education. And, 3rdly.—The holding of African immigrants, on their first arrival in the island, under indentures, without reserving to the magistracy any effectual power of cancelling the indentures, upon proof of the ill-treatment of the immigrants."

With regard to the last charge, we must confess that we have never heard a wish of the kind expressed, and we are quite convinced that the legislature would never presume to pass such an enactment, because, if influenced by no other reason, they would be by the certainty that the bill would, if not thrown out by the Council, be objected to by the Governor. The two other charges may be brought with more propriety against her Majesty's ministers than the inhabitants of Jamaica, for our readers will remember, that the enactments alluded to were earnestly recommended by the right honourable Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Grey, and were far from being approved of here by any class of persons. It has long been admitted that there is no necessity, in this country, for a vagrant law, such as that which exists in England; and on the subject of compulsory education, the proposition has been so coldly received, that it has been abandoned by its originators, without a single effort being made to carry it out. But then, "there is the very extensive and multifarious mass of information," of which Sir Charles Grey is the "recipient," and this information is of such a nature as to convince him that he was perfectly justified in expressing himself as he did to the custodes and senior magistrates! After all, the point in dispute has yet to be settled. The Assembly have asked for evidence which the Governor refuses to give—there is an explanation, but no retraction of the charge preferred, and as we have already said, it now remains for the representatives of the land to solicit from the British Government a commission of inquiry. To that commission his Excellency the Governor will, no doubt, afford all the information in his power.—*Falmouth Post*, Sept. 1.

DEMERARA.—In the rural districts agricultural operations seem to be going on favourably. The planters are not making fortunes, but they seem to be making "two ends meet" better now than they did two or three months ago. Most estates are rapidly getting in their crops, and whatever produce comes to town for sale realises somewhat better prices than at the date of our last accounts. The position of the French and other foreign sugar colonies is so uncertain at the present moment as to render holders of colonial produce firmer than they otherwise would be. With us, the crisis of emancipation is passed: it is now the crisis of free trade, which is as bad, if not worse. It certainly must be acknowledged, that our labouring population are on the whole very quiet. Indeed, they have so many reasons for contentment, that it is difficult to see what there is to make them discontented. (!) A vessel came in yesterday from Africa, bringing about 300 remarkably fine young free Africans, the eldest of whom, it is said, is not more than 30 years—a valuable infusion of young blood into the colony.—*Royal Gazette*, Sept. 5.

"We are informed that the *Anna Eugenia*, 32 days from Saint Helena, with 350 immigrants, arrived in Demerara on Sunday last; and that another vessel, 22 days from Sierra Leone, with 275 immigrants, arrived on Monday; making in all an accession to the labouring population of the colony of 625 captured Africans, who have been long found to be the most useful description of agricultural labourers. It is said, however, that in consequence of the captains of these two vessels having undertaken the speculation without the prescribed formality of obtaining a licence to carry emigrants, they will experience some difficulty in getting the colonial bounty, which they would otherwise be entitled to receive from the public Treasury of this colony. Unless encouragement is now given to such vessels as happen to touch at St. Helena or Sierra Leone, at a time when emigrants can be had, and bring these emigrants here, whether duly licenced or not, we may look on that source of supply to our labour market as entirely closed."—*Berbice Gazette*, Sept. 7.

MARTINIQUE.—We have been favoured with the perusal of a letter, says the *Royal Gazette*, of Sept. 16, from a respectable party at this island, which says:—"Tranquillity appears to be in course of re-establishment on a solid basis. The Commissary-General has received orders from home to promulgate laws against vagabondage, and the most energetic measures have been prescribed to our Governor in case of further disorder."

SURINAM.—IMPORTANT MEETING OF PLANTERS.—On Wednesday, the 19th instant, there was held here, on invitation from MM. Van Emden, J. Frouin, and W. Humphreys to the proprietors and representatives of plantations residing in Paramaribo, a meeting of thirty-eight of these, consisting, besides the three named, of MM. Baars, Barends, Bylaart, Blanke, Bosch Reitz, Christie, Croockewit, Van den Ende, Gebrels, Henckel, Heylidy, Hostmann, Hindekoper, Kaas, Kamerling, Kennedy, La Parra, Lionarons, J. Lyon, B. Lyon, Macintosh, J. J. B. de Mesquita, J. J. de Mesquite, De Niefeld, Nielson, Oppenheimer, Penard, Robles, J. F. Roux, H. G. Ruhmann, Soesman, Tirion, Palthe Wesenhagen, and Wildeboer. The others invited were prevented from appearing by absence from town and other causes.

M. Van Emden opened the meeting by addressing it in the name of



himself and MM. Frouin and Humphreys, and explained the object of their assembling. He drew attention to the events in Europe, to the consequences of those events, to the spirit of the age, and to the situation of the colony. He read the circular of the 15th May, 1848, B. No. 13, addressed by his Excellency the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, to parties interested in these colonies, and resident in the mother country, as also from that addressed by the minister, in his former capacity of Governor-General of the Netherlands West India possessions, to the then members of the Colonial Council;—mentioned the different propositions made some time since by many in the States-General of the mother country; and reminded the meeting how persuaded were all enlightened and reflecting planters, that the ameliorations already practically introduced by many into the buildings, and other departments of plantation management, ought to be generally adopted and gradually extended, as might in the course of experience be deemed judicious, at periodical meetings of the proprietors, for the purpose of attaining the wise and philanthropic objects of the minister; that the well-understood interest of the planters, the prosperity of the colony, and the welfare of the mother country, would be free from the shocks otherwise inevitable, and, indeed, be considerably advanced, were a system of *free colonization* on an enlarged scale at the same time brought into operation; that since nothing existed in print concerning the improvements introduced by many, that since at the same time better results were to be expected from combination, than from individual efforts, he (M. Van Emden) had, after conversing with several persons, and to satisfy the general wish for combined action, invited to this meeting, in conjunction with MM. Frouin and Humphreys, the planters residing in Paramaribo, and now requested the gentlemen present to declare if they were inclined to co-operate in laying down regulations, according to experience, obliging themselves thereto successively. The honourable gentleman afterwards begged those who answered in the affirmative to choose some from themselves, one of whom should preside over future meetings, and a second have the management of their correspondence, with power to add to their numbers, as might be expedient. He trusted that the assistance of those who had been prevented from attending on the present occasion would be afforded at their future meetings.

A discussion hereupon arose, chiefly in respect of an entirely free system of colonization. The meeting considered this as indispensable for the colony, and desirable, consequently, for the good of the mother country. The meeting expressed their unanimous hope, that time and opportunity being now favourable, their expectations on this point would be speedily fulfilled.

Subsequently, it was unanimously declared by the meeting that they were prepared to co-operate in the abovementioned object, to meet the views of the Government, and cheerfully to bring that to pass, of the necessity of which all were persuaded. It was, however, submitted by some of the representatives of estates, that no definitive steps could be taken, as to the instructions contained under Nos. 3 and 4, in the Minister's Circular of the present year, until the answer, as to that circular, of the parties interested in the mother country, should be made known to their administrators, who could do no more than follow out the instructions of their principals. In this view of the matter the meeting concurred.

Subsequently, the following question was unanimously decided in the affirmative—viz., whether, in the event of difference of opinion existing as to the steps hereafter to be taken, the minority should be ruled by the majority? A ballot was then taken for the appointment of a Committee, and MM. Von Emden (by 34 votes), J. F. Roux (by 22 votes), and J. Frouin (by 20 votes), were chosen, upon which these gentlemen expressed their readiness to undertake the task imposed on them. No one present having any further suggestions for the present to make, the meeting separated. Important it certainly was, and beneficial are the results which may be expected from it; for nothing tends to greater security in the execution of the ordinances, than a willingness of action, grounded upon a conviction of the necessity of the case, and the advancement of self, as well as the public, interest.

We understand the members of the Committee have agreed among themselves to intrust M. Roux with the management of the meetings, and M. Van Emden with that of the correspondence.—*From the Algemeen Nieuws en-Advertentie Blad of Paramaribo, 16th August.*

CUBA.—If there ever was a time, says the *Wilmington (U. S.) Commercial Review* of the 3rd of August, when men of justice, sagacity, prudence, patriotism, and cool deliberation, were essentially needed to preside over the destinies of our republic, that time is now upon us. The whole continent of Europe is in a state of turmoil, excitement, and conflict. "Wars and rumours of wars" now float upon every breeze; and no man can see the end of these things. But it is not confined to Europe—it seems to be spreading and traversing the whole civilised world, throughout its minutest ramifications. Read the following from the *New Orleans Delta*:—"We have at various times spoken of an intended movement in Cuba, but many of our contemporaries expressed doubts of the correctness of our information, for no other reason, that we know of, than that they

had not received similar intelligence—the secret being that they had not access to the sources of information from whence we obtained inklings of passing events in 'ever faithful' Cuba. It appears, after all, that our information as to a projected outbreak in Cuba was correct. Without further preface, we lay before our readers the following important intelligence, which we have received from a reliable source.

"The 24th of June last, was fixed upon by the friends of independence in Cuba, as the day on which the people were to revolt against Spanish authority, and to declare in favour of the independence of the island and its annexation to the United States! Circumstances occurred (unnecessary to particularize) which prevented the plan of revolt from being carried into effect at the time specified. The project was postponed—not abandoned. In this state of affairs, Don Gabriel Pedro Sanchez informed the Governor of Trinidad of the conspiracy, at the head of which was General Naveiso Lopez, who succeeded in making his escape, via Matanzas, on board a vessel bound to the United States. In consequence of the information furnished to the authorities, many arrests were immediately made of men of wealth and station in the island. At the present time, or at all events, only a few days ago, as we are informed, Don Jose Maria Sanchez Insiraga, and Don Jose G. Diez Villegus, gentlemen of considerable wealth, were (among others) confined in the fort Principe at Havana, and Don Jose Joaquin Verdaques was detained in the fort of Cienfuegos. These prisoners, we further learn, are to appear and answer the charges laid against them, before a military commission, of which Colonel Christoval Zurita is appointed president. What their fate will be, under the mild administration of law by a Spanish military tribunal, we can easily conceive.

"We further learn, that American citizens in Cuba are in a very unenviable situation. They are all objects of suspicion, and their movements are continually watched and noted. No American citizen, we learn, can go out of Havana to any part of the island, unless he first swears that he is a Roman Catholic, and a person of good fame, and the American Consul certifies that he is so. Even then, he must give security for his good behaviour.

"Our information is not as full as we could wish, but it is sufficient to show that the spirit of independence is roused in Cuba, and that the authorities are using strong means to suppress it. The end is not yet. One failure will not daunt those who aspire to freedom and independence. The day of reckoning will come, and Cuba will ere long shake off the yoke of subjection. Our columns are so crowded that we must refrain from further comments. Ere long we shall have occasion to recur to the subject."

PORTO RICO.—The *New York Sun* states, on the authority of Mr. Pritchard, a passenger on board the barque *Cordelia*, from Ponce, Porto Rico, that "on the night of the 18th of July, the inhabitants of Ponce were thrown into a state of alarm by the discovery of a plot existing among the negroes for a grand insurrection. It was discovered by information given by one or two negroes of the estate Serand to the proprietor, who, on ascertaining the truth of it, immediately gave notice to the proper authorities. Three of the principal ringleaders were immediately arrested, and had their trial. Two were condemned to be shot, and one to the chain-gang for ten years. The plan they said was an extensive one, and included all the negroes upon the south side of the island, from Guayana to Mayagues. The insurrection was to be simultaneous in the different parts, and the day fixed was the last day of the month. They were to burn all the towns, kill all the whites, and make a second St. Domingo of the island. Since the arrest of the ringleaders, confidence is entirely restored. The idea of gaining their freedom by revolt is absurd, as out of half a million of inhabitants, they number but 47,000. Prim, the Captain-general of Porto Rico, (who, by the way, has been removed from office by the home government), has no doubt created the revolt by his cruel and tyrannical policy, but having invoked it, he has the energy to suppress it. Estates had finished getting in their crops, and the weather continued favourable for the coming one."

#### DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
London.—Gurney, Samuel J. ....	20 0 0	—
Gurney, E. H. ....	10 10 0	—
Bristol.—Thomas, George ....	50 0 0	—
Thomas, Edward ....	50 0 0	—
Eaton, Joseph ....	20 0 0	5 5 0
Guilleband, Rev. P. ....	5 0 0	1 1 0
Liverpool.—Cropper, John ....	25 0 0	—
Cropper, Edward ....	25 0 0	—
Evesham.—Ladies' Anti-slavery Society...	6 0 0	—
Darlington.—Pease, Edward ....	10 0 0	—
Newcastle.—Richardson, Anna ....	10 0 0	—
Uley.—Crate, Mrs. ....	—	1 0 0
Froxfield near Woburn.—Martin, John ...	—	0 10 0
Jamaica.—Congregation of Salter's-hill, per Rev. Walter Dendy ....	10 0 0	—